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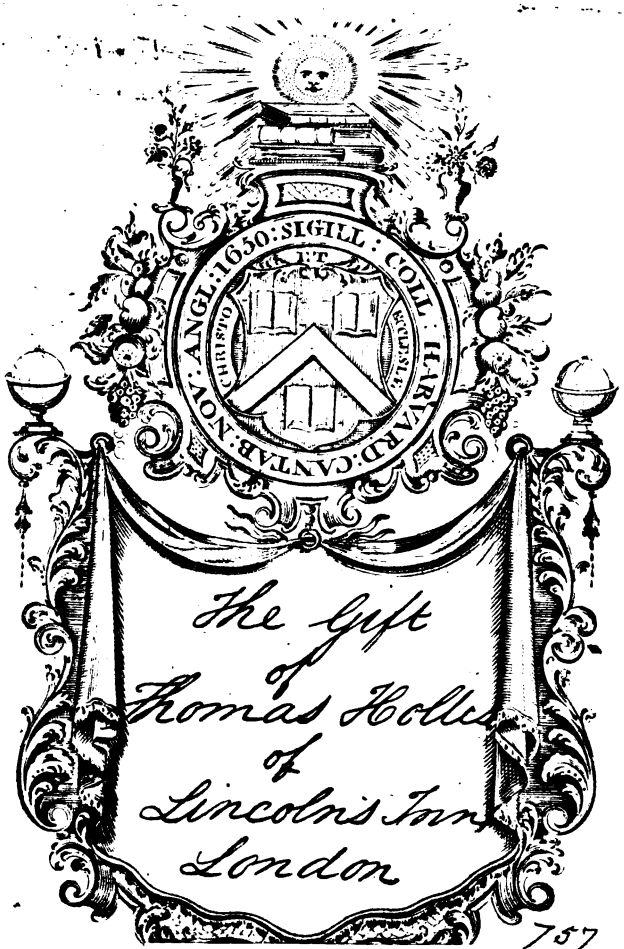

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Miſcellaneous Reflections,

Occaſion'd by the

COMET

Which appear'd

In *December* 1680.

Chiefly tending to explode Popular Superſtitions.

Written to a Doctor of the Sorbon,

By Mr. BAYLE.

Tranſlated from the *French.*

To which is added,

The Author's LIFE.

VOL. II.

LONDON,
Printed in the Year 1708.

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Miscel-

Miſcellaneous Reflections, on occaſion of the Comet which appear'd in December 1680.

Written to a Doctor of the Sorbon.

SECT. CLXI. *Conjectures on the Manners of a Society of Atheiſts.*

AFTER all theſe Reaſonings, I make no ſcruple to declare, wou'd you know my Thoughts of a Commonwealth of Atheiſts, That as to Manners and Civil Life 'twou'd exactly reſemble a Commonwealth of Pagans; 'twill indeed require very ſevere Laws, and very well executed. But do's not every State require the ſame? And dare we ſtir out of our Houſes, were Robbery, Murder, and other ways of Violence publickly conniv'd at? Isn't it owing purely to the Vigor the King has newly given the Laws againſt Bullys and Pickpockets, that we are not inſulted in the Streets of *Paris* night and day? Were it not for this we ſhou'd be expos'd to the ſame Violence as in former Reigns, tho the Preachers and Confeſſors diſcharge their Duty much better than heretofore. In ſpite of the

Wheel, and Rigor of the Magiſtrate, and Vigilance of the Civil Officers, how many Violences and Felonys are committed on the very Spot, and the very hour Criminals are executed? It may be ſaid, without invective, that Human Juſtice is for the moſt part the Baſe of Human Vertue: The Moment ſhe ſlacks the Reins, few are cautious how they offend.

Sect. CLXII. *That Human Laws are for the moſt part the Baſe of Human Vertue. Impurity an Argument of this.*

THIS is evident from the Example of Uncleanneſs. Chriſtians are all agreed, this Sin's ſtrictly prohibited by the Laws of God; the Church continually preaches againſt it: Yet I queſtion whether one Man in a hundred is free from the Stain. For the Womens part, we muſt do 'em this Juſtice, that much a greater number of them abſtain from this Sin; not that they have naturally a greater ſtock of Vertue than the Men, or that their Love of God gives 'em more ſtrength to reſiſt the Temptation, What then? that they are reſtrain'd by the hard Laws of Honor, expoſing 'em to Infamy, whenever they yield to the Inclinations of Nature. Certain it is, did not Men annex Honor and Reputation to Womens Chaſtity, the Sex wou'd be as generally diſſolute as they, and in all probability give themſelves a greater looſe, becauſe 'tis very probable this Paſſion is more violent in Women than Men.

SECT. CLXIII. *That Men have a greater sense of Honor than Women.*

IN effect, did living chastly concern a Man's Honor as it do's a Woman's, 'tis very probable, as few Gentlemen wou'd venture to leud Houses, as now betray their Post out of Cowardice. Few Gentlemen do this, very few who in a prospect of Glory won't despise the greatest Dangers, and look Death in the Face. The time has been you cou'd scarce find a Man in *France*, who had not fought a Duel or two on the least nicety of Honor, tho he ran the hazard of being kill'd on the Spot, and the utmost danger of the Law if he escap'd. 'Tis probable then, were Chastity the way to Glory, and Leudness that to Infamy, Gentlemen wou'd be as seldom ingag'd in scandalous Gallantrys, as now disgrac'd for want of Courage. In the mean time we see abundance more Ladys of noble Blood, defam'd for their Incontinence, than Gentlemen degraded for Cowardice. A violent Presumption, the Women wou'd outdo the Men, might they gratify their Desires without hazarding a Reputation; and the Men gain a greater Conquest o'er their amorous Passions than the Women, were their Honor as much at stake. Say, this proceeds from Womens not having such a Command o'er their Appetites as Men, and that a fear of Contempt makes deeper Impressions on one Sex than the other. Prove it by this Instance, that there are fewer Women who conquer their Curiosity by the fear of Shame, than Men who conquer the fear of Death, the violentest of all Human Passions, by that of In-

famy: Or rather ſay, Nature has given Women a more rebellious Conſtitution than Men; 'tis alike to me. Still the true reaſon of Womens flying Incontinence infinitely more than Men, is the Mens placing the Glory of that Sex in Chaſtity; whereas they are ſo far from placing their own Glory in this Vertue, that a Man who dare boaſt of ſuch a Gift, muſt expoſe himſelf to a deal of Laughter.

SECT. CLXIV. *What, generally ſpeaking, are the true Cauſes of Chaſtity in Women.*

YET don't imagine it's my Opinion, that every Woman's Vertue is owing to a fear of Infamy. God forbid I ſhou'd paſs a Judgment ſo injurious to the Grace of the Holy Spirit. I have already declar'd, and declare once more, I except a good Number out of the general Rule, ſuch as are govern'd by the true Spirit of Chriſtianity, and whom God preſerves in the moſt Epidemical Contagions, as appears by this Scripture; * *Reliqui mihi ſeptem millia virorum qui non curvaverunt genua ante Baal.* But after this Declaration, I don't ſee the ſtrangeneſs of my taxing moſt Human Vertues of Falſhood, eſpecially the Chaſtity of Women. If they who have carry'd this Duty to the rigor, examine themſelves, they'l find, or I'm much miſtaken, that the thought of *what will the World ſay* has conduc'd to it more than any other Motive. How many of 'em are the true Copys of *Amarillis* in *Paſtor Fido*, and ſay in the Secret of their Soul, or a tender *Tete a Tete*;

* Rom. 11. 4.

Happy

Happy ye Savage Rangers of the Plains!
Whom bounteous Nature to no Rule reſtrains:
Bleſt with Deſires, and of no Guilt afraid,
Your Laws of Love by Love alone are made.
But O! Inhuman human Laws decree,
That Death a Penalty for Love muſt be!
. . . . . .
Yet weak's the Lover's Flame which Death can aw!
O were that all the Sanction of the Law!
But holy Honour! Thou alone canſt bind
Inviolably faſt each noble Mind!
Thee, Goddeſs, I adore, to Thee I bow,
And conſecrate a Virgin's tender Vow:
Tho hard's the Sentence, at thy cruel Call,
A Sacrifice to Thee my bleeding Love muſt fall.

The Law, you ſee, which puniſhes Love with the loſs of Life, is not the cauſe of their paſſionate Murmurs. Loſs of Honor is all they dread. They're perſuaded God can pardon all, but Man ne'er do's; ſo that the whole Myſtery lies in blinding the World, which let me tell 'em is no very eaſy matter: therefore, when ſecure from cenſure, they ſtand not on much Ceremony. If to this you add the old Maxim, *Caſta eſt quam nemo rogavit*; that Modeſty which ſprings from Education, and prevents the moſt amorous making all the Advances; a deſign of enhancing their Favors, and quickning by delays, which yet ſometimes deſtroy the Lover's Appetite; the pride of an unblemiſh'd Reputation; the thought of gaining the Eſteem of thoſe they reſiſt, and a Huſband perhaps into the Bargain; a certain Greatneſs of mind, which won't bear a ſingle witneſs of

their weakneſs; * the diſagreeable ways of a Lover, his ill-timing things, his Indiſcretion: Add, I ſay, all this together, you'l find the true Principle of the Sexes Continence, without having recourſe to the Power of Religion.

SECT. CLXV. *What an Injury the Impurity of Chriſtians do's the Chriſtian Religion.*

THIS Remark on the Impurity of Chriſtians, brings a paſſage to my Mind out of Sir *Paul Rycaut*'s State of the *Ottoman* Empire: *That the* Turks *laugh at our ſpeaking of the ſtrictneſs of the Chriſtian Religion in allowing only one Wife, and making a familiarity with any other Woman unlawful. 'Tis true,* adds he, *to our exceeding Confuſion, the Diſſoluteneſs of our Lives and Manners gives theſe Infidels too juſt Occaſion of Reproach and Raillery, and of telling us, our Practice deſtroys our Principles. They are ſcandaliz'd, not only at the Numbers, who violate the holy Rules of Chriſtianity by an impure and abominable Life, but at the municipal Laws and known Privileges authorizing Fornication. This they prove from the publick Stews in* Italy. *They know Impurity is a kind of Merchandize and Traffick at* Venice *and* Naples; *That the* Courtizans *at* Rome, *and* Cantonera's *in* Spain, *compoſe a Body in the State, and are under a legal Tax and Impoſt. They can't comprehend the Reaſons on which this Policy is founded, nor what the* Italians *can ſay in defence of ſuch a Practice.* This Author ſhou'd have carry'd his

* Eſto, ægram nulli quondam flexere mariti,
Non Lybiæ non ante Tyro deſpectus Iarbas,
..... Placitone etiam pugnabis amori. *Virg. Æn.* 4.

Sincerity

Sincerity a little farther, and ingenuously own'd, that *Spaniards* and *Italians* are not the only Nations answerable. For, bating *the Tax and Impost*, the Courtizans of *London* don't come behind those of *Spain* or *Italy* either in Numbers, Impudence, or Impunity. Such a Relation as Mr. *St. Didier*'s were very useful to convince the World in this Point; and Sir *Paul Rycaut* shou'd not have forgot Old *England*, and so cheaply give up the Honor of other Nations to the Raillerys of Infidels.

In the mean time, this Reason of the *Italians*, which he says the *Turks* can't comprehend, affords a cogent Argument. 'Tis well known, the Reason of their tolerating leud Houses, is to prevent a worse Evil, an Impurity of a more execrable Kind, and to provide for the safety of Women of Honor. * *About two hundred and fifty years ago*, Venice *being in want of Courtizans, the Republick was oblig'd to procure a great Number from Foreign Parts.* Doglioni, *who has written the Memorable Affairs of* Venice, *highly extols the Wisdom of the Republick in this Point, which secur'd the Chastity of Women of Honor, daily expos'd to publick Violences, the Churches and consecrated Places not being a sufficient Azylum for their Chastity.* Time was when the Monks and Priests of *Germany* † were allow'd Concubines, on paying a certain yearly Duty to their Prelat. It's generally believ'd Avarice was the Cause of this shameful Indulgence. But 'tis more probable the design was to prevent their tempting modest Women, and to quiet the

* Mr. de St. Didier Relation de Venise, chap. de Courtizanes.

† *See the* Centum Gravamina apud Wolfium, Lect. Memor, vol. 2. p. 223, 226.

Uneaſineſs of Husbands, whoſe Reſentments the Clergy do well to avoid. This, I ſay, furniſhes a ſtrong Argument, becauſe it manifeſtly appears I had reaſon to affirm Religion is not a ſufficient Curb to our Paſſions. In effect, you ſee the Chriſtian Religion ſo incapable of reſtraining Incontinence, that there's a neceſſity of ſacrificing one part of Woman-kind to preſerve the other, and prevent a worſe Evil, which notwithſtanding is become very common. To which I add this Obſervation by the way, That Men are ſo convinc'd the ſolemneſt Oaths are no Barrier to the Ambition of Princes; that tho they take ſpecial care to make 'em ſwear the obſervation of Treatys, yet they are in continual Alarms from the moment a neighbouring Prince puts his Troops in motion. Of this we ſee daily Examples. Now ſince Religion is incapable of ſubduing the Inclinations of Nature, there muſt be ſome other Principle of the Chaſtity of Women, and the fair dealings of Men, beſide Conſcience.

SECT. CLXVI. *A Mark for knowing when an Action proceeds from the Love of God.*

TELL me, pray, Can a Woman who won't proſtitute her ſelf and yet poiſons her Huſband, plead her Innocence in the firſt caſe, as an inſtance of Obedience to God? She impoſes on her ſelf, if ſhe fancys any Action of hers can proceed from the Love of God, ſo long as ſhe's capable of poiſoning her Husband. For had this Love any power over her, cou'd ſhe reſolve on ſo execrable a Murder? And if ſhe accompliſhes it, and yet do's not proſtitute her Body, muſt not this

this proceed from ſome particular Conſiderations of no force in any other Caſe? Isn't it evident ſhe wou'd run into all the Exceſſes of Impurity as well as greater Crimes, were ſhe prompted by Paſſions equally violent, and were the gratifying 'em not attended with ſome outward Circumſtances likelier to reſtrain her? The reaſon then of her committing one of theſe Crimes and not another, ſprings intirely from her being able to accompliſh one without a Witneſs, but not the other, without the danger of diſhonouring her ſelf the longeſt day of her Life: ſo that Religion's not the Cauſe of her Chaſtity. If Men examine themſelves by this Rule, they'l appear to do little or nothing for the Love of God: and if they give an Alms, while taken up with an adulterous Gallantry, 'tis becauſe they don't value Mony, or are naturally apt to be mov'd at the ſight of a miſerable Object, or wou'd gain the Reputation of being kind to the Poor; or that they hope hereby to purchaſe a Right of ſinning with Impunity.

How do Men deceive themſelves! If they fancy, whatever is praiſe-worthy in 'em proceeds from a love of God, wou'd they not abſtain from things the deareſt to 'em, when found to be forbidden by him? One who loves Women, who gratifys his Paſſion for 'em as long as he's able, but is otherwiſe ſober, keeps regular Hours, can't take a Bottle without a Headach, is beſides a Poltron, and can handle neither Sword nor Piſtol; wou'd not he be very modeſt in pretending any Merit before God, becauſe he's no Drunkard, nor ever go's on the Highway? Let him renounce the Luſt to which he's inclin'd, let him exerciſe this

Violence

Violence on himſelf on account of God's injoining it, and then every thing commendable in him ſhall paſs for current; otherwiſe he'l allow us to believe his averſion to Drunkenneſs and Robbery, is a Vertue in which Religion has no concern, and in which he might perſevere, tho he renounc'd Chriſtianity.

Yet this is the real ſtate of moſt of your vertuous Men, they have one favorite Paſſion: this they indulge to the utmoſt, and never offer it the leaſt Violence. The reſt of their Life is regular enough; they applaud themſelves upon it, and imagine they make a great Sacrifice herein to Almighty God. Blind Wretches! were they capable of offering a worthy Sacrifice to God, they might eaſily conceive the darling Paſſion alone muſt be ſlain, and that we can't be ſaid to ſacrifice thoſe to which our natural Conſtitution do's not incline.

SECT. CLXVII. *The true Reaſon of one Sin's being more cuſtomary than another.*

I Don't know whether all the World has had the ſame Reflection I have often made, upon ſeeing ſome Sins much more cuſtomary than others: I much doubt it; for in all probability, moſt People imagine this proceeds from a Notion of ſome Sins being ſo ſmall and venial, that they are nothing in compariſon of crying Iniquitys. But for my part, I can't aſſign this as the Reaſon; and I maintain on the contrary, it proceeds from ſome Sins giving univerſally a more ſenſible Pleaſure than others, and at leſs Expence. For in ſhort, Pleaſure's the Life of all human Affairs; and ſay what you

you will, it's certain, Man's Inclination for Pleaſure is ſtronger than his Averſion to Pain, and that he's much more affected with Good than Evil. He goes cheerfully to Pain and Sorrow, provided Pleaſure's the way which leads to 'em; and paſſes thro Sorrow and Pain, provided they lead to Pleaſure. This is evident from the Conduct of ſo many young Women, who, born down by the victorious weight of preſent Pleaſure, run headlong to Actions, which they are ſure will be attended with a long train of bitter Sorrows; and by the Example of ſo many Men, who having a thouſand times experienc'd the ſad Diſorders of hard-drinking, yet follow the bent of their Appetites when the next occaſion offers. Some of the *Italian* or *Spaniſh Corſi*, after an Affront given, ſhall lurk in a Hedg a Fortnight together waiting for their Enemy, content to browſe upon Herbs or Roots for that time, ſo they have the Pleaſure of ſeeing the Ambuſh ſucceed. The force of Pleaſure muſt needs be ſtrong, ſeeing in the ſmall number of *Roman* Veſtals we find ſo many Examples of Puniſhment; a Puniſhment ſo terrible, ſo infamous, ſo doleful, ſo fraught with Execration, that the Wit of Man cou'd not contrive any thing beyond it for reſtraining the Sallys of Incontinence.

This being the Caſe, if you ask me, why Impurity is abundantly more common than Murder; I anſwer, not becauſe Murder is ſuppos'd much the more heinous Crime, but becauſe there's infinitely a greater number govern'd by the Pleaſure of Debauchery than that of Bloodſhed. I own, the temporal Laws againſt Murder contribute to the difference; but you'l allow me, if you weigh the matter rightly, that the Reaſon I alledg contributes much more.

SECT.

SECT. CLXVIII. *Reflections on the Habits of Lying and Backbiting.*

SHALL I mention Vices ſtill more prevailing than Uncleanneſs, to wit, Lying and Backbiting? Is it not plain, what renders theſe Vices ſo univerſal, is their being a never-failing ſource of Pleaſure? They are Vices highly gratifying our Vanity, our Envy, our Avarice, our Hatred, and conſequently muſt needs be very delightful. Your Merchants and Tradeſmen, by dint of Lying, and ſwearing ſuch a thing is worth ſo much, get ſomething continully above the Value: Lying then is their continual Pleaſure, and ſo they lye on eternally. They who lye out of Vain-glory, find an exceeding Pleaſure, imagining they paſs for Men of Importance on their bare word. Flatterers have a particular Satisfaction in Lying; they make 'em Friends, who pay ſometimes in ready Mony, ſometimes in Services as Occaſions preſent, ſometimes in Praiſe for Praiſe. Let the worſt come to the worſt, they have a ſecret Pleaſure in finding the blind ſide of the flatter'd, and avoiding his Diſpleaſure; for there be thoſe who never pardon one that's a Niggard of his Incenſe. As to your Backbiters, they have a Satisfaction in leſſening their Neighbor's Merit, which gives Jealouſy, and placing themſelves above him as far as lies in them; beſides its being a Talent for recommending 'em to the Female Sex, who are a conſiderable Party in the World.

This renders 'em agreeable Converſation among the Ladys, who, generally ſpeaking, are very vain and very envious; ſo that to win their Hearts effectually,

tually, they muſt not only lye and ſwear in their own Praiſes, but have the knack of running down the reſt of their Sex, thoſe eſpecially who are Rivals in Beauty, Wit, or Rank. 'Tis wrong to make a Viſit without ſome odd Story of theſe Concurrents, or thoſe who frequent 'em. If they have heard none, why let 'em invent. He renounces the Character of a Galant, who ſticks at Slander. Hence 'tis obſerv'd, Detraction reigns no where ſo abſolutely as in Cabals of both Sexes; not only as this Familiarity begets a thouſand Incidents to talk of, but as the Men learn in ſuch a School all the Refinements of this Art.

This only *en paſſant*. My chief Deſign is to ſhew, that the Cauſe why thoſe Vices are ſo common, is, that they pleaſe, and not that they paſs for innocent. You ſhall quickly ſee what uſe I make on't.

SECT. CLXIX. *Whether Men have Reaſon to think Impurity a leſs Sin than Murder.*

IS it not true, that there's no Revelation nor ſound Theological Reaſon, which informs us, that Impurity is a Sin leſs diſpleaſing to God than Murder or Perjury? 'Tis indeed more favorable to publick Society than the other two. But this is not the Rule for determining the Quality of a Sin, it being a conſtant Maxim in ſound Divinity, that the Wickedneſs of an Action conſiſts in its being forbidden by God, without regard to the Diſtinction of natural and poſitive Laws. In conſequence whereof, the Circumſtances of the Sinner's ſtate, of his Knowledg and Intention, vary its Turpitude, according to the Degrees of more or leſs.

I much doubt, whether the Weight of Pleaſure leading us captive be capable of diminiſhing the Guilt, becauſe habitual Sins in this Caſe, tho much more deteſtable than others, muſt yet be conſtrued more venial; the Power of acquir'd Habits being a kind of Determination which empairs the Liberty of our Will. Nor can I think, that Conſequences pernicious to Civil Society, aggravate the Sin before God, unleſs directly in the Sinner's Intention: for example, a *Banditti*, who murders a Man in the Corner of a Wood, not knowing who he is, or deſigning any more than juſt to get rid of him, and go off quietly with his Prey, is not more or leſs criminal in the ſight of God, for that a great many Miſerys, or a great deal of Good follows upon his Death. Perhaps he has kill'd a Man with a great Charge of Children, who muſt fall into extreme want by the loſs of their Father; a Man who was the Support of the poor and oppreſt, one who made up all Differences in his Neighborhood; or perhaps a Man without Houſe or Home, ready himſelf for any Adventure. Theſe Caſes are of no account in the ſight of God, being only accidental to the Murder. Two Perſons fire a Piſtol each at his Enemy; one kills his Man, the other miſſes, or perhaps hits him ſo luckily, that breaking an Impoſtume, which muſt otherwiſe have ended his Life in a few Days, puts him in a Condition to live out fifty Years in perfect Health, as we have ſome memorable * Examples in Story. Human Juſtice may make what Diſtinction it pleaſes, condemn one to Death, and let

* Camerarius, Medicat. Histor. vol. 2. l. 3. ch. 19.

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the other paſs, becauſe the Action of one is an Injury to the Publick, but not the other; ſtill they are both equally guilty at the Divine Tribunal. In like manner, tho the Publick is a Gainer by Impurity, and loſes by Murder, it does not follow, that one is a leſs Sin than the other, becauſe the Conſcience of any thing's being expreſly forbidden by God is ſufficient to communicate all the Guilt which belongs to the Nature of Sin. The Sin of *Adam*, puniſh'd in ſo terrible a manner, deriv'd its whole Enormity from the bare Prohibition: for nothing in it ſelf cou'd be more innocent than eating of any Fruit; there was no prejudice in't to human Society, or to the reſt of the Creation. Let's agree then, that Chriſtians, who abandon themſelves to the Exceſſes of Incontinence, who lye perpetually, either to deceive or blacken their Neighbor's Reputation, or flatter his Vanity, are as guilty in the Sight of God as Murderers; ſince there's no Revelation, nor ſolid Reaſon informing 'em, that God has not equally forbid all theſe Crimes, or that he promiſes Impunity to one more than the other: And conſequently, what renders ſome Sins more frequent than others, is not their being conſider'd as ſmall in the Sight of God.

SECT. CLXX. *Reflections on the Malice of Evil-ſpeaking in ſome Caſes.*

WHEN Preachers lay it out againſt Uncleanneſs or Evil-ſpeaking, they never fail to repreſent 'em as Sins of the blackeſt Dye. I don't except thoſe who are reckon'd commode Caſuiſts; for I have heard ſome, even of this ſort, talk very

very roundly on theſe Heads. If you take their word, they are the very Extremity of Wickedneſs. Next time they preach, perhaps another Sin's the greateſt; like the Panegyriſts on the Saints, who always give the Preference to the Saint they preach for. But be that how it will, we can by no means pretend Ignorance as to the extreme Malice of Slander and Incontinence, they are painted out to us daily in the livelieſt Colors. In reality, there are Slanders no leſs criminal than Murder, ſpringing from ſuch envenom'd Malice, that they fly like ſo many chew'd Bullets, rather than bare Words. When I ſee a Churchman take ſuch Revenge of his Enemys, either by defamatory Libels, or ſly under-hand Calumnys, I can't forbear ſaying, he offends God much more than he, who breaks a Fellow's Head or Arm with an oaken Cudgel: That Choler and Gall which flows freer in every Page, than his very Words or Ink, betray a Diſpoſition more void of Chriſtian Charity, than the Violences of a Man who kicks his Landlord down Stairs, and flings his Goods out of the Windows. But the Author ſtrikes no body, he breaks no Bones. No; 'tis not his way of fighting, but the Arms he's train'd to he wields with a Vengeance. This is as if the * Wolf ſhou'd plead good Nature, becauſe he does not kick. But the Author is prompted by Zeal; Vice ſhan't go unpuniſh'd. Stuff! A Prelate ſticks on his Skirts, or attacks his Order. Here's the bottom of this mighty Zeal againſt the Prelate's Debauches, and

* ——————————Mirum,
Ut neque calce Lupus quenquam, neque dente petit bos.
Horat. Sat. 1. l. 2.

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the true Reason of trumping up antient Canons. One sure Sign of this, is another Ecclesiastical Order, which receives daily Marks of this Prelate's Goodness and Credit, suffering him to enjoy his Mistresses Favors quietly; and, far from crying out upon his Court-Spirit, extolling his indefatigable Zeal for the Honor of the Church, and the Salvation of his Flock; which they'd ne'er allow, tho really so, did the Prelate thwart 'em in the least. These very Libellers, who read such fine Lectures to a Bishop who teases 'em, shall write you the Elogy of another Prelate, their Patron, very handsomly, tho the gallantest Person in the Kingdom. Let me assure you, Sir, you have those among you, who without any other Weapon than a Pen, become as guilty as they who revenge with Sword and Pistol; their injurious virulent way of writing, discovering a Spirit in them as opposite to the Gospel, and as full of Rancour, as in any Men in the World.

SECT. CLXXI. *Why Revenge and Avarice are so common.*

AND now I think on't, let's examine a little what makes Revenge so common among Christians. Is it that we are ignorant the Scripture forbids it as one of the sinfullest Actions? No; few Gospel Truths are so clearly expresst as those which concern Charity towards our Neighbor, and the Obligation we are under of forgiving Injurys. There's no point of Morality Preachers insist on more pathetically; and from the Cradle we are all taught a Prayer compos'd by JESUS CHRIST, and we repeat it hourly, as I may say,

obliging us in expreſs Terms not to hope for the Pardon of our Sins, longer than we forbear Revenge. So that they who're only acquainted with the firſt Elements of the Chriſtian Religion, can have no doubt of its being a heinous Sin. We muſt conclude then, the Reaſon of its being ſo univerſal, is its having univerſal Charms. The *Italians* find ſo many in it, that they ſay, in a horrible profane Raillery, God has reſerv'd the delicious Morſel to himſelf. Other Nations don't run to ſuch Extremes. But, generally ſpeaking, all find a Pleaſure in Revenge; Self-love, the inſeparable Paſſion, ſtill endeavoring to thruſt as many below us as poſſible, and if this won't do, ſtriving at leaſt not to be below them. Now as the Offences we are about to revenge, repreſent us in our own Eyes inferior to the Offender, we find our Spirits eas'd of a great Burden, and tranſported with a ſpritely ſenſe of Joy, as oft as by revenging our ſelves we recover Ground, and get the Superiority of our Enemy. Here undoubtedly lies the ſweet of Revenge, and the true reaſon at the ſame time why ſo many are of a vindictive Spirit. And if with this it be conſider'd there are a thouſand ways of Revenge, which coſt little, and don't expoſe to Actions at Law, we ſhall find the true Reaſon why ſo many in Fact revenge themſelves.

Tho the Paſſions of Uncleanneſs and Laſciviouſneſs are very general, yet we muſt allow 'em much leſs ſo than that we are ſpeaking of: There are ſome Stages of Life wholly free from 'em; Children have no reliſh of 'em; old People for the moſt part loſing theſe Appetites, unaccuſtom themſelves by degrees. But no Age delivers from

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the Lust of Revenge; it reigns over Infants in the Cradle, and attends old Age to the Grave. Yet for all this I question whether Covetousness is not a more general Passion than Revenge. By Covetousness I understand, not only a Miser's sordid love of Money, but a Passion in general for Riches; whether the Person hoards, or whether he lavishes as fast as they come in. People generally imagine there's a mighty difference between the Prodigal and Covetous, but 'tis a mistake; none are more griping than your greatest Spendthrifts, as is evident from the Conduct of our Officers in the Revenue and Army. Their Feasts, their Buildings, their Entertainments for the Ladys, are made with the utmost Profusion; but their Exactions on the People discover the utmost Avarice: So that one may justly apply to 'em the Character of *Catilin*, *Alieni appetens sui profusus*. Taking Avarice then in this sense, I find it altogether as general as the Passion of Revenge; and inquiring into the Cause of this, I find 'tis not that we doubt its being a heinous Sin: for how shou'd such a Doubt arise in Christian Minds, after the express Prohibitions of the Decalogue, and constant Sermons grounded on the inconstestable Authority of St. *Paul*, representing it as a degree of Idolatry, and a spiritual Monster of the most hideous kind? so that it must spring from Self-love alone, that inseparable Passion of our Nature: For this curst Passion giving a relish for whatever flatters our Vanity, for whatever distinguishes from other Men, whatever procures the gratifying of our Lusts, whatever is thought a Bulwark against Distress, carrys us to pant ardently after Riches, as the Source of all these

Advantages. Something there is in the frame of Man, and the inward conſtruction of the Machine, hat every thought of his being rich, makes the Heart ſpring for joy. You may read us what fine Lectures you pleaſe on the Cares of the Covetous; it's certain they reſent a ſweeter Pleaſure in the poſſeſſion of their Hoards, than pain in the thoughts of loſing 'em. The ſight of their broad Gold gives 'em a high Opinion of their own parts, and inſpires a ſecret Eſteem, which makes amends * for Applauſes the World ſometimes denys. Now as nothing diverts a Man's Fancy like being the Object of his own Admiration, and having it in his power to taſt all the Pleaſures to be had for Mony; it follows, the poſſeſſion of Riches is a Fund of Delights, at leaſt he promiſes himſelf it will be. If you ask me, why almoſt all the World thirſt after Revenge and Riches, both which the Goſpel condemns, and only a few love Hunting, Dice, Sciences, &c. things permitted, or Vertue the only thing injoin'd: I anſwer, *Becauſe according to the Mechaniſm of Man, or the union of his Soul and Body, there reſults a Pleaſure from Riches and Revenge, rendring 'em agreeable to all the World; whereas only particular Fancys are taken with Hunting, Dice, Sciences, and Vertue.*

From this laſt ſet of Remarks, I draw this Concluſion, That the Pleaſure, and the cheapneſs of the Pleaſure, is what makes ſome Vices more common than others, and not our Opi-

* Populus me ſibilat, at mihi plaudo;
Ipſe domi ſimul ac nummos contemplor in arcâ.
Hor. Sat. 1. l. 1.

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nion upon the Turpitude of 'em in the degrees of more and less; and consequently, that Religion in this respect (for here's my main drift) † serves only to furnish Matter of fine Declamation from the Pulpit, or Explications of Duty, after which every one is absolutely govern'd by the impulse of his Taste for Pleasure. Whence it follows, that Atheists who only act by the same impulse, are not necessarily more corrupt than Idolaters, tho differing from Idolaters in the notion of Sin and Punishment, and wholly destitute of all Belief concerning these Points.

Sect. CLXXII. *Whether a Society of Atheists wou'd lay themselves under Rules of Honor and Civility.*

NOW we see how probable it is a Society of Atheists wou'd observe all Civil and Moral Dutys, as other Societys do, provided Crimes were severely punish'd, and Honor and Infamy annex'd to certain Points. As the Ignorance of a first Being, the Creator and Preserver of the World, wou'd not bereave the Members of this Society of a sense of Glory and Contempt, Reward and Punishment, or of all the Passions which reign in the rest of Men, nor wholly extinguish the Light of Reason; one shou'd find Persons among 'em of Integrity in common dealing, some who reliev'd the Poor, oppos'd Violence, were faithful to their Friends, despis'd Injurys, renounc'd sensual Pleasures, did no wrong; promp-

† *This and all other Places of the same import, are to be understood with the limitation given before at* Sect. 136, 164.

ted to theſe worthy Actions, either by a love of Praiſe inſeparable from 'em, or a deſign of gaining Friends and Welwiſhers in caſe of a turn in their own Fortune. The Women wou'd ſet up for Vertue, as an infallible Pledg of the mens Love and Eſteem. Crimes indeed of all kinds muſt happen in ſuch a Society; but not frequenter than in a Society of Idolaters, becauſe all the Principles which prompted the Pagans to Good or Evil, Rewards and Puniſhments, Glory and Diſgrace, Complexion and Cuſtom, take place in a Society of Atheiſts. And as to that ſanctifying Grace which fills with the Love of God, and gives the Victory over evil Habits and Inclinations, Pagans were as deſtitute as they.

To be fully convinc'd that a People void of the Knowledg of God, might lay themſelves under Rules of Honor, and obſerve 'em to the greateſt Nicety, we need only conſider there's a certain worldly Honor eſtabliſh'd among Chriſtians directly oppoſite to the Spirit of the Goſpel. I'd fain know whence this Notion of Honor is borrow'd, which the World ſo idolizes as to ſacrifice all to it. Is it becauſe they know there's a God, a Goſpel, a Reſurrection, a Heaven and a Hell; that Chriſtians think 'twou'd derogate from their Honor, to let an Affront go unreveng'd, give the Wall, or have leſs Spirit and Ambition than their Equals? I ſuppoſe not. Run over all the Notions then of Civil Life among Chriſtians, you ſhall hardly find two borrow'd from Religion; and when Actions once thought unſeemly become genteel, 'tis not I, aſſure you Sir, that we have better conſulted the Morality of the Goſpel. The Ladys have bethought 'em

'em of late days, that 'twas more an Air of Quality to dress in Publick and before Company, to ride abroad in Hat and Feather, and gallop ten Miles a stretch in a Fox-chase, &c. and have so prevail'd, that 'tis no longer accounted a breach of Modesty. Is it Religion has chang'd our Ideas in this Point? Compare the Manners of several Nations professing the same Christian Religion; you shall find what's thought very indecent in one Country, is by no means so in another. The Ideas then of Decency and Civil Life among Christians, don't arise from Religion. Some I confess are universal, for there's no Christian Nation where Chastity in Women is thought scandalous. But to deal sincerely, it must be own'd, this Idea is earlier than either the Law or the Gospel, 'tis an Impression old as Human Nature; and I'll soon shew the Pagans did not borrow it from their Religion. Let's agree then, there are Notions of Honor in Mankind, which are the pure Work of Nature, that is, of a general Providence. Let's own this particularly with regard to that Honor of which our Swords-men are so jealous, tho so opposite to the Law of God. And how can we afterwards doubt, but Nature may produce among Atheists, where the knowledg of God do's not obstruct, the same Rules of Honor it produces among Christians?

SECT. CLXXIII. *That the Opinion of the Mortality of the Soul do's not extinguiſh the deſire of immortalizing the Name.*

SOME perhaps may imagine that an Atheiſt, perſuaded his Soul dies with the Body, is incapable of worthy Actions, from a deſire of immortalizing his Name, which is ſo ſtrong a Motive with other Minds. But this is a groſs Miſtake; becauſe it's certain they who have done the greateſt things to be applauded by Poſterity, ne'er flatter'd themſelves with the hopes of knowing in another World what ſhou'd be ſaid of 'em in death. Beſides, do our Hero's of the preſent Age, who run upon ſo many Dangers, and undergo ſuch Fatigues to be mention'd in Story, imagine, that the Monuments rais'd to their Memory here, tranſmitting to lateſt Poſterity their great and glorious Actions, ſhall give 'em the leaſt pleaſure in another State? Do they depend on a communication with this World in a future Life? And are not they rather perſuaded, whether they injoy the Felicitys of Heaven, or ſuffer the Flames of Hell, all accounts of Mens admiring 'em wou'd be equally inſignificant? The belief then of the Immortality of the Soul is not the only incentive to Glory; and conſequently Atheiſts are capable of deſiring eternal Renown. All that's ſolid in a love of Glory, is only the Perſon's pleaſing Imagination in this Life, of his becoming an Object of Wonder for a long Series of Ages. When once he ſhifts this Scene for Eternity, he has ſomething to think on beſide his Reputation in this Life.

Id

Id cineres & manes credis curare Sepultos?

I ſuppoſe you have heard how Mr. *de Caſtelnau*, being preſented with the Marechal's Staff a little before he expir'd of his Wounds at the Siege of *Dunkirk* 1658. told his Friends, *'Twas a very pretty thing in* France, *but he was bound to a Country where 'twou'd be of no manner of uſe to him.*

SECT. CLXXIV. *Examples ſhewing that Atheiſts have not been diſtinguiſh'd by a Corruption of Manners.*

BUT ſtill they'l ſay, this is a Paradox indeed; A Vertuous Atheiſt! Why it's a Monſter ſurpaſſing the utmoſt ſtrain of Nature. I anſwer, an Atheiſt who lives ſoberly, is not more ſtrange, than a Chriſtian hurry'd to all manner of Exceſs. If we daily ſee Monſters of the laſt kind, why ſhou'd we think the others impoſſible?

But to offer ſomething more ſolid, and put what I have advanc'd about the Manners of a Society of Atheiſts beyond a bare Conjecture, I obſerve, that thoſe few among the Antients who made open Profeſſion of Atheiſm, as *Diagoras*, *Theodorus*, *Evemerus*, and ſome others, did not live in a ſtate of Libertiniſm, to make the World cry out upon 'em. I don't find they are accus'd of being as ſingular for the Diſorders of their Life, as for the frightful Extravagances of their Underſtanding. On the contrary, I obſerve, their Sobriety appear'd ſo admirable to * *Clemens Alexandrinus*, that he

* In Protrepic.

thought

thought himself oblig'd to demur to the Charge of Atheism against 'em. He pretends, their Penetration in discovering all the Errors of the Pagan Theology, was the whole ground of the Accusation, and that they were branded for Atheists, only because they despis'd the false Gods. He's mistaken; and I admire a Person of his Erudition shou'd be ignorant, that the Pagans carefully distinguish'd †† those who affirm'd the Existence of a God, those who doubted, those who deny'd it, those who ascrib'd the Government of the World to a Divine Providence, and those who thought fit to assign the Gods a Beatitude free from Care. The Opinion of those who deny'd the Existence of a God, was never confounded with the rest; the Name of Atheist was always appropriated to these; and they whom *Clemens Alexandrinus* wou'd vindicate, are constantly reckon'd of this Number. *Cicero* *, *Plutarch* †, *Diogenes Laertius* ‖, and many more, are too express in this point, to leave any room for evading their Testimony. *Socrates* was of that set of Philosophers who maintain'd the Unity of the Godhead, and therefore is never rank'd among the Atheists with *Theodorus* and *Diagoras*. Others pretended, that all the Pagan Divinitys were reducible to one. *Lactantius* ** maintains, that the Unity of the Godhead was known to several Pagans, to *Orpheus*, *Virgil*, *Thales*, *Pythagoras*, *Anaxagoras*, *Antisthenes*, *Cleanthes*, *Anaximenes*, *Cicero*; and proves it from several

†† Cicero l. 1. de natura Deorum. * L. 1. de Nat. Deor. † De Placit. Philos. ‖ In vita Aristippi. ** Lib. 1. de fals. relig. c. 5.

 authen-

authentick Passages in their Writings: yet these were never reproach'd with Atheism. *Clemens Alexandrinus* had no Reason then to doubt their being guilty of this Impiety, who are expresly and by name accus'd of it by the Pagans. And 'tis strange * *Muret* with all his fine Learning shou'd fall into the same Error. 'Tis certain, *Diagoras*, *Theodorus*, *Nicanor*, *Hippon*, *Evemerus*, believ'd no God; yet they were Men of so much Vertue ||, that a Father of the Church challenges 'em as his own, and magnifys the Excellency of true Religion by their Vertue.

It appears from some Passages of *Pliny*, that he did not believe a God; yet he was no voluptuous Liver, and never any one apply'd † himself more to all honest Occupations, or more becoming an illustrious *Roman*.

Epicurus, who deny'd a Providence, and the Immortality of the Soul, liv'd as exemplarily as any of the antient Philosophers: And tho in process of time, his Sect lost its Reputation, yet 'tis certain, it always consisted of many Persons of Honor and Probity; and that they who dishonor'd it by their Vices, were not corrupted in his School. They were Persons wicked in Nature and Constitution, glad they cou'd say, in defence of their filthy Passions, that they follow'd the Maxims of one of the greatest Philosophers in the World; and imagining the Cloke of Philosophy gave 'em a right to laugh at the Scandals taken by the World.

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* Var. lect. l. 10. c. 17. || Σωφρόνως βεβιωκότας, qui moderate & continenter vixerunt. *Clem. Alex. in Protrept.*
† Vide Plin. jun. Epist. 5. l. 3.

They

They were not therefore rendred diſſolute by embracing *Epicurus*'s Doctrine, but embrac'd his miſrepreſented Doctrine becauſe they were diſſolute. Thus *Seneca* * ſpeaks, tho of a Sect full of Animoſity againſt the Name of *Epicurus*; and freely declares, he's perſuaded this Philoſopher's Pleaſures were very ſober, and very dry. St. *Jerom* † ſpeaks advantageouſly of his Frugality, and confounds the Irregularitys of Chriſtians by his Example.

The *Jews* had a Sect among 'em which openly deny'd the Immortality of the Soul, I mean the *Sadduces*. Yet it does not appear, that with ſo deteſtable an Opinion they led wickeder Lives than the other *Jews*; on the contrary, it's very probable they were more righteous than the *Phariſees*, who boaſted ſo much of their obſerving the Law.

Mr. *Balzac*, in his *Chriſtian Socrates*, relates the laſt Words of a Prince who liv'd and dy'd an Atheiſt, and gives him this Character: *That he was not void of moral Vertue, that his Communication was yea and nay, his Diet Tiſan; and that he was perfectly regular as to the outward Appearance.*

The deteſtable *Vannini*, who was burnt for Atheiſm at *Tholouſe* in 1619. was all along exact enough in his Conduct; and whoever had brought an Action againſt him for any other Crime except his Doctrine, had run a great risk of being convicted of Slander.

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* Non ab Epicuro impulſi luxuriantur, ſed vitiis dediti, luxuriam ſuam in Philoſophiæ ſinu abſcondunt. *De vitâ beat. c.* 12.

† *L.* 2. *contra Jovinian. c.* 8.

In

In the ‖ Reign of *Charles* IX. *An.* 1573. a Person was burnt at *Paris* for privately instilling atheistical Doctrines. He taught that preserving the Purity of one's Body was the only Divinity, and therefore was suppos'd never to have defil'd himself with Women. He had as many Shirts as Days in the Year, and sent 'em continually to *Flanders*, to be wash'd in some Fountain, famous for the clearness of its Water, and Virtue in whitening Linen. He had an Aversion to all Obscenity, whether of Words or Actions; and tho he persisted in his Blasphemys with an extreme Obstinacy, yet he deliver'd himself at the Stake with a compos'd Air, and as little concern in his Looks, as one jesting with his Friends.

The Relation of Mr. *Rycaut*, * Secretary to the Earl of *Winchelsey*, the *English* Embassador at *Constantinople*, has made too much noise not to reach your Ears: so that I shan't stand to entertain you with the Praises of this Author's Diligence in informing himself exactly of what he delivers, but only take notice, that after his mentioning, that the Atheists in *Turky* have form'd a regular Society, compos'd for the most part of *Cadis*, and Persons deeply read in the Arabick Books; he adds, the Members of this Sect have an extraordinary Friendship for one another, mutually performing all kind Offices, are civil, hospitable, and extreme obliging to all Strangers of their own Sentiment. Their Civilitys are carry'd a little too far indeed, seeing they provide their Guests with an Entertainment at night very unseemly, but no more than all the other *Turks* are guilty of. So that if

‖ P. Garasse Doctr. curieuse l. 2. sect. 6. * L. 2. c. 12.

one

one compare the Lives of these Atheists with those of the Mahometans in every Article, we shall find either no difference at all, or the Advantage on the side of the former.

I shall not presume to rank the Chancellor *de l' Hopital* in the number of Atheists; I don't doubt he was a good Christian, but I may say, he was shrewdly suspected of Irreligion, tho nothing was more austere, nothing graver or more compos'd than his outward Appearance, nothing more exemplary than his Life. Mr. *de Beaucaire de Peguillon*, * Bishop of *Metz*, charges him openly with Atheism. His Testimony is somewhat suspicious indeed, on the account of his Dependance on the Cardinal of *Lorain*, whose Preceptor he was. But this however shews, that Men forget themselves, when they pronounce Atheism inseparable from a Depravation of Manners; since we find a Chancellor of *France* charg'd with Atheism, tho his Sobriety was conspicuous to all the World. 'Tis very strange, and extreme scandalous, that not only he, but all others distinguish'd by an Austerity of Life in the last Age, were look'd on as bad Catholicks, while they, who cou'd make proof of their sticking at no Debauchery, were sufficiently acquitted of any Inclination for the new Opinions; as in *Rome* of old, they † who were impeach'd of a Conspiracy a-

* Homo quidem doctus, sed nullius Religionis aut in veniâ eam, *Beaus. Comment. rerum Gallic. l.* 28. *n.* 57. † Duos simulos è notioribus veniâ donatos constat, qui se quo facilius expertes culpæ ostenderent impudicos probaverant. *Suet. in Domit. c.* 10. ——Cæsonius vitiis processus est unquam in illo sodalitio cœtu passus nullibris. *Tacit. Annal. l.* 11. *vid. Sueton. in Nerone, c.* 29.

gainst

gainst the State, were immediately discharg'd, cou'd they prove themselves Pathicks and Prostitutes.

SECT. CLXXV. *That your Men of Pleasure don't trouble their Heads about religious Matters.*

I Don't know whether we mayn't justly apply to Religion what *Julius Cesar* answer'd those who advis'd him to beware of *Anthony* and *Dolabella*; *I ne'er suspect these plump jolly Beaux, I much more dread the pale meager Faces*, meaning *Brutus* and *Cassius*. These Enemys of Religion, the Wits, I mean, who believe nothing; who give themselves the Title of *Bold Thinkers*; who find flaws in all Demonstrations of the Existence of a God, and improve every Difficulty against a Providence, are not, generally speaking, the most Voluptuous part of the World: He who spends the Day over a Bottle, and the Night at a Ball; dies for the Fair, and for the Brown; spreads every Snare for the Chastity of Women; endeavors to drown his Thoughts by Revelling, and prevent a disrelish of Pleasure by a variety of Objects; ne'er troubles his Head to examine whether Mr. *Descartes*'s Demonstration of a God, and immaterial Substances, be valid, or his Answers to all the Objections against him satisfactory. He ne'er examines Mr. *Huet*'s *Demonstratio Evangelica*, so full of Eloquence and Erudition, nor labors to elude any Arguments for the Truth of the Christian Religion. He breaks not his Brain with *Spinosa*'s crabbed Doctrines, to prove the Universe a simple undivided Being, and Us so many Modifications of the Divinity. He

even

even laughs at a Natural Philoſopher, who applys himſelf to find the Cauſes of Phenomena.

* *Let* Rohault *vainly break his Reſt to prove*
How, when the Whole was full, the Whole could move.

He has not leiſure for ſo many things; nor if he had, wou'd he employ it on abſtracted Reflections, inſipid and incomprehenſible to the Senſual. He truſts his good Fortune, holds to his Catechiſe; and perhaps has a ſecret Perſuaſion, that doubting nothing makes amends for a wicked Life, Faith being not only conducive to a preſent Peace of Mind, but profitable to Salvation: in the mean time he takes his ſwing. On the other hand; they whoſe Character's Incredulity and a Spirit of Scepticiſm, and who value themſelves on rational Doubting, deteſt Taverns and Womens Converſation, are peeviſh, pale, meager, muſing even at Meals on a Propoſition in Algebra. So that inſtead of ſaying with *Cato* †, That among thoſe who ſtruck at the Liberty of *Rome*, *Ceſar* alone proceeded in cold Blood; we muſt acknowledg, That among thoſe who have conſpir'd againſt the Unity of the Church, broach'd Hereſys, endeavor'd to deſtroy Religion and the Belief of a God, there have been very few Drunkards or Debauchees. *Cicero* obſerving ‖ that *Ceſar* ſcratch'd his Head with the point of one Finger, comb'd, curl'd and kept his Hair in the niceſt Order, judg'd him incapable of endangering the Liberty of the

* Mr. Des Preaux Epitre a Mr. de Guilleragues. † Sueton. in Jul. c. 53. ‖ Plutarch. in Jul. Caſ.

 Common-

Commonwealth. He was miſtaken; but we can never be, in judging that a perſon drown'd in ſenſual Pleaſure, ſhall e'er broil or burn for Hereſy or Atheiſm. Not that I ſuppoſe all, who are void of Religion, to be of an orderly Life: On the contrary, many of 'em are, no doubt, guilty of the fouleſt Crimes. But my meaning is, that all of this kind are not diſtinguiſh'd by their Vices; and this can't be juſtly deny'd me, becauſe I have Experience and Fact of my ſide. Now from there being Atheiſts, who, morally ſpeaking, have vertuous Inclinations, we may ſafely conclude Atheiſm is no neceſſary Cauſe of a wicked Life; and therefore is only ſo by Accident, or rather is the Cauſe of a Corruption of Manners, in thoſe only whoſe Diſpoſitions for Evil will render 'em corrupt without it.

SECT. CLXXVI. *That Man do's not regulate his Life by his Opinions.*

I'M ſenſible it's ſomewhat ſtrange, a Man believing neither a Heaven nor Hell, ſhou'd yet lead a good moral Life. But ſtill I'm led to the thought of Man's being that kind of Creature, who, with all his boaſted Reaſon, never acts by the Principles of his Belief. Chriſtians furniſh Inſtances in abundance. *Cicero* has obſerv'd * of the Epicureans, that ſome of 'em were capable of Friendſhip, Men of Worth, whoſe Actions were ſquar'd, not by Rules of Luſt or Voluptuouſneſs, but by Principles of Reaſon. *They live*, ſays he, *better than they talk; whereas others talk better than*

* De Fin. l. 2.

they live. The ſame Remark has been made on the Conduct of the *Stoick* Philoſophers. Their Principle was unavoidable Fate, from which God himſelf neither is, nor ever was exempt. This ſhou'd naturally prevent all means of exciting 'em to Action, put an end to Exhortation, Cenſure, Threats and Promiſes. Yet no Philoſophers employ'd theſe means more than they; and their whole Conduct is an Argument they believ'd themſelves Maſters of their own Deſtiny. The *Turks* hold ſomething of this Doctrine of the *Stoicks*, and ſtretch the Point of Predeſtination farther than any. Yet we ſee 'em fly from Danger like other Men; and I queſtion whether they'l mount a Breach with as much intrepidity as the *French*, who believe no Predeſtination. What we are told of the Security of theſe Infidels, on an opinion of the Unchangeableneſs of their Fate, is all fable. They take prudential Meaſures like us, and puniſh particular Faults more ſeverely. We ſee ſome Chriſtians who deny Predeſtination; we ſee others who hold it. Some pretend, one may be aſſur'd of Salvation; that one never falls from Grace; that we are not ſav'd by good Works; that there's no need of confeſſing our Sins ſave to God alone; that there's no ſuch place as Purgatory. Others maintain quite the contrary. But notwithſtanding this Oppoſition in their Tenets, both Partys govern themſelves alike with regard to Manners. If there be any difference, it ariſes from the particular Genius of each Nation, and not from that of the Sect.

'Twere endleſs tracing Man in all his odd Variety and Caprice, which ſhews him not only the moſt ridiculous Animal in Nature, as Mr. *Des Preaux*

Preaux has prov'd in one of his Satyrs, but a Monſter more extravagant than the Centaurs, or the Chimera of the Poets. Which, by the way, is a convincing Argument, as Mr. *Paſcal* obſerves, of the Truth of the Scripture-account concerning the Fall of Man; it being certain, that here alone we are to expect a full Reaſon of all the Contradictions which occur in our Kind. Yet this hinders not, but the Principle I have laid down may unfold the Riddle in part. For if it be true, that general Perſuaſions are not the Spring of our Actions; and that Temper, Cuſtom, or ſome particular Paſſion determines, there may well happen a vaſt difference between Belief and Practice. Then 'tis as poſſible an Atheiſt may ſtint himſelf in ſome Pleaſures for the ſake of another, as an Idolater ſwear a falſe Oath. And conſequently, that Voluptuouſneſs, and all kind of Crimes, are not the inſeparable Effects of Irreligion. Thoſe only are, for which the Conſtitution or Fancy give a particular reliſh, provided the Dread of human Juſtice, Detriment, or Cenſure, interfere not with the Enjoyment. Whereby it's plain, a Pagan, with regard to Manners, is not a jot a better Man than an Atheiſt.

Sect. CLXXVII. *The Reaſon of our imagining Atheiſts extraordinary Wicked.*

BUT how then, you'l ſay, comes the World to fancy Atheiſts the moſt profligate Villains in Nature, Men of Blood, Enemys to all Order and Diſtinction, and Invaders of Civil Right? From hence, That they falſly imagine Man always acts by Principle; that is, according to his Perſuaſions

ſuaſions in Religion: That they have known Men of no Religion, ſuch as *Mahomet* II. for example, commit the horribleſt Crimes; not conſidering they had done the ſame, tho under the general ſenſe of a Deity, as is evident in *Nero*, whom I inſtanc'd before, and *Bajazet* as outrageouſly wicked, as barbarous and cruel as the former Sultan: That they don't diſtinguiſh thoſe Atheiſts who begin, from thoſe who end in the disbelief of a God. Thoſe, for the moſt part, are your falſe learn'd, who wou'd diſtinguiſh themſelves by an inſolent Reaſon, and the contempt of ſenſual Pleaſure. Theſe are Souls ſunk in Voluptuouſneſs, and guilty of the blackeſt Crimes; who perceiving the Thoughts of Hell intrude ſometimes on their Peace, and imagining 'twere their Intereſt there ſhou'd be no God, endeavor to perſuade themſelves there is none. One of our moſt Illuſtrious Prelates ſeems to be of opinion, that only this laſt ſort ever arrive at a thorow Atheiſm. *We*, ſays he, *may affirm quite the contrary, of what an impious debauch'd Philoſopher advanc'd, more from a vanity of being the Author of a witty Saying, than any real Conviction, That Fear had made the Deity; and maintain, That Fear alone tempts Men to disbelieve a God.* I don't think all our Atheiſts are of this Stamp; I only ſay, there are ſome who take pains to make themſelves ſo. Whether they gain their Point, or whether they are balk'd, they are undoubtedly the worſt of Men: Yet not the worſt merely as Atheiſts, but become Atheiſts by being the worſt; or if they can't arrive at Atheiſm, ſtill they live as tho they did. When a Man's come to that paſs, as to wiſh himſelf an Atheiſt, and make the laſt Efforts on Conſcience, he's at the very

very Criſis of Malice; a higher degree is not incident to the human Soul: and unleſs God work Miracles to convert him, he ſticks at no kind of Iniquity, altho poſſibly he mayn't obtain his full Wiſh. So that ſuch a one is incomparably farther remov'd from the way of Salvation, than an Atheiſt bred and born, or a ſimple Unbeliever. Now as they who from mere Malice extinguiſh, or endeavor to extinguiſh the Knowledg of God, are the moſt notorious Monſters, and moſt reſolv'd Sinners in the World, People fancy all Atheiſts indifferently the moſt flagitious Part of Mankind.

SECT. CLXXVIII. *Whether one may have Notions of Moral Vertue without the Belief of a God.*

WHAT confirms 'em in this Perſuaſion, is the difficulty of comprehending how a Man, who believes no God, can have any Notion of moral Honeſty, inſomuch that they look on him as one ripe for every Miſchief which human Juſtice can't revenge. They are notoriouſly miſtaken; for it's well known the Epicureans perform'd many fair and worthy Actions, which might be omitted without the danger of Puniſhment, and ſacrific'd Pleaſure and Profit to pure Vertue. The antient Sages underſtood by the Dictates of mere Reaſon, that * we ought to do

* Satis enim nobis (ſi modo in Philoſophia aliquid profecimus) perſuaſum eſſe debet, ſi omnes Deos, hominesque celare poſſemus, nihil tamen avarè, nihil injuſtè, nihil libidinosè, nihil inconsiderate eſſe faciendum. Hinc ille Gyges, &c. *Cic. l. 3. de Offic. vide Hor. l. 1. Ep. 17.*

Good for the ſake of doing Good; that Vertue was its own Reward; and that 'twas the Character of a wicked Man to forbear doing Ill from the Fear of Puniſhment.

Our Hiſtorians relate, that an Embaſſador from St. *Louis* to the Sultan of *Damaſcus*, asking a Woman in the Streets what ſhe meant by carrying Fire about in one hand, and Water in another, was anſwer'd, She deſign'd to ſet Fire to Heaven, and extinguiſh the Flames of Hell, that Men might no longer worſhip the Divinity from mercenary Views, but purely for the Excellency of its Nature. To ſay nothing of the *Sadduces*, who made open Profeſſion of God's Worſhip, tho they only expected a Reward in this life; don't we read that *Epicurus*, who deny'd a Providence, and the Immortality of the Soul, conſtantly honor'd the Gods? He compos'd Books of Devotion *, in which he ſpake with ſo much Fervor of Holineſs and Piety, that one wou'd have thought 'em the Work of ſome Sovereign Pontiff. When 'twas objected, he might very well diſpenſe with Worſhip, who believ'd the Gods did us neither Good nor Harm; he anſwer'd, The Excellency of their Nature was a ſufficient Ground of Adoration †; and 'twas a miſtaken Notion to think we ought not to pay 'em Honors, unleſs mov'd by a ſenſe of Fear. ‖ *Deliver'd from the Dread, and ſet free*

* Cic. de Nat. Deorum, l. 1. † Habet venerationem juſtam quicquid excellit. *Cicer. de Nat. Deor. l.* 1. ‖ His terroribus ab Epicuro ſoluti, & in libertatem vendicati, nec metuimus eos quos intelligimus, nec ſibi fingere ullam moleſtiam, nec alteri quærere, & piè ſanctéque colimus naturam excellentem atque præſtantem. *Cic. ibid.*

by

by Epicurus, *we are in no pain from the Divinity; because we know it's provok'd at nothing, it designs us no mischief; yet we render a pious and holy Worship to this Being full of Majesty and Excellence.* Whether there were more Sincerity or Prudence in these fine Maxims, is what I won't undertake to decide. But it can't be deny'd, a Man who speaks thus, has an Idea of moral Honesty, and conceives that a disinterested Veneration for things excellent in themselves, is the Duty of a reasonable Nature: This Inference * *Seneca* draws from these Doctrines of *Epicurus*. It's plain then, Reason, without the assistance of Religion, conceives an Idea of that Piety so much boasted of in the Fathers; by which one loves God, and obeys his Will, purely on the account of his infinite Perfection. This convinces me, that Reason, without the Knowledg of God, may sometimes distinguish things intrinsecally honest; the practice of which is right and praise-worthy, not only on account of its Profitableness, but Conformity to right Reason.

Some may possibly be brutish enough not to see that a grateful Sense of Benefits is honester than Ingratitude; but I see no indispensable Necessity, that those who know no God, shou'd not know there's an intrinsecal Honesty in Gratitude. For tho God reveals not himself fully to an Atheist, yet he do's not cease acting on his Spirit, and up-

* Cur colis? propter Majestatem inquis ejus eximiam, singularémque Naturam. Ut concedam tibi, namque hoc facis, nullâ spe, nullo pretio inductus. Est aliquid per se expetendum, cujus te ipsa dignitas ducit. Id est honestum. *De Benef. lib.* 4. *cap.* 18.

holding that Reaſon and Underſtanding by which all Men comprehend the Truth of the firſt Principles of Morality and Metaphyſicks.

SECT. CLXXIX. *That an Atheiſt may thirſt after Praiſe and Glory.*

IT's certain withal, that a Man wholly deſtitute of Religion, may be deeply touch'd with a Senſe of Honor, and thirſt after worldly Praiſe and Glory. If then ſuch a one happen to live in a Country where Knavery and Ingratitude expoſe to contempt, and where Vertue and a generous Temper are admir'd; ne'er queſtion his profeſſing himſelf a Man of Honor, and even capable of diſcharging a Truſt, tho not to be compel'd to it by Courſe of Law. The Fear of paſſing for a Cheat and a Villain, will prevail o'er his Love of Mony: and as there are Men who run thro abundance of Trouble and Hazard to revenge an Affront receiv'd in the preſence of a few, and which they'd put up with all their hearts, but for fear of incurring the contempt of their Acquaintance; ſo in ſpite of the Temptation, I believe a Man void of Religion may be capable of reſtoring a thing committed to his Truſt, tho 'twere impoſſible to convict him legally of a Fraud, becauſe he knows his Honeſty will gain him the good Word of the Town, and his Breach of Truſt be thrown in his diſh, at leaſt bring him under a ſuſpicion, which ſhall effectually prevent his paſſing for an honeſt Man in Peoples Thoughts. For 'tis the inward Eſteem of Men we aſpire after moſt.

moſt. The Words and outward Behavior expreſſing this Eſteem, are no farther valuable than as they are taken for real Indications of the Heart. A Machine's approaching us with the profoundeſt Reverence, and pronouncing the fineſt Compliment, cou'd give no good Opinion of our ſelves, as known not to proceed from another's inward Opinion of our Merit. Therefore, I ſay, a Man may ſacrifice his Avarice to his Vanity, where he only apprehends a ſuſpicion of his Breach of Truſt. And tho intirely above ſuſpicion, yet might he reſolve to quit his Prize, for fear of betraying himſelf in his Sleep, or in a raving Fever; for ſuch Examples have been: And *Lucretius* * uſes it as a Motive to perſuade Men, void of Religion, to the practice of Vertue and Juſtice.

I paſs over *Cardan*'s Remark, That they who believe the Soul dies with the Body, are by Principle honeſter than others; becauſe a good Name is more their Intereſt: He compares 'em to Uſurers, who to give a credit to their Calling, are the punctualleſt Men alive to what they promiſe, and to the Letter of the Promiſe.

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* Quippe ubi ſe multi per ſomnia ſæpe loquentes,
Aut morbo delirantes, protraxe ferantur,
Et celata diu in medium peccata dediſſe.

SECT.

SECT. CLXXX. *The Example of* Lucretia, *and ſuch as ſhe, an evident Proof that Religion was not the Ground of the Pagans Notion of Honor.*

BUT what wou'd you ſay, Sir, ſhou'd I prove that the Love of Glory, which ſo ſtrongly poſſeſs'd the Pagans, very often depended not in the leaſt on the Ideas borrow'd from Religion? If I prove this Point, you muſt allow, This deſire of Glory proceeded from a Principle altogether diſtinct from Religion, and conſequently might obtain in the World, tho there were no Religion at all: Mark how I prove it.

'Tis inconteſtable, that for the three or four firſt Ages of *Rome*, the Modeſty, Frugality, and Chaſtity of the Women, were much more conſpicuous than thoſe Virtues have been among Chriſtians for a thouſand years paſt. Theſe were accounted the chief Ornaments of the Sex; the Women, who excel'd in theſe Qualitys, were ador'd; thoſe void of 'em were deſpis'd. The firſt * Magiſtrate of *Rome*, whoſe Authority came little ſhort of abſolute Power, employ'd his Vows and Promiſes in vain to ſatisfy his Paſſion for the Daughter of an ordinary Citizen. He found her Proof againſt all Temptation; and when he betook himſelf to indirect Ways, and the Authority his high Station gave him †, the Virgin's Father choſe to cut her

* Appius Claudius Decemvir, An. Rom. 304. † Appius amore ardens pretio ac ſpe pellicere adortus, poſtquam omnia pudore ſepta animadverterat, ad crudelem ſuperbamque vim animum convertit. *Liv. Dec.* 1. *l.* 3.

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in pieces, rather than see her ravish'd by the Tyrant. You'l allow the Sense of Honor must run very high to carry People to such Extremitys; and that *Lucretia*, who'd neither yield to the dishonest Embraces of a Prince, her Sovereign's Son, nor survive the Affront, must have an inconceivable Passion for the Character of a vertuous Woman.

This being premis'd, I affirm, The *Roman* Women cou'd not be inspir'd with this exceeding Nicety of Honor by the Religion in vogue; because to produce such an Effect, it ought to inculcate, that Impurity was displeasing to the Gods. But far from this, it taught quite the contrary, that the Gods themselves were extremely debauch'd. So that had the *Roman* Men and Women follow'd the Instincts of their Religion, they had reason'd like him * in the Play, who seeing a Picture of *Jupiter* chang'd into a Golden Shower to enjoy his Mistress, crys out, *As little a Fellow as I am, I shou'd make a scruple of doing what the greatest of our Gods is not asham'd of.* Who for the future can doubt that Men form Ideas of Honor and Glory independent of Religion; since, as we have seen already, they on one hand judg some things honest, which are in reality otherwise, and which Religion condemns; and on the other hand, judg certain things dishonest, which are so in effect, tho their Religion tend to represent 'em otherwise?

If this Reflection mayn't be thought convincing, here's another to my purpose that's inconteſtable. Had *Lucretia* valu'd Chastity from a Principle of

* Ter. Eunuch. Act. 3. Sc. 5.

Religion,

Religion, or, which is much the ſame, had valu'd it in Obedience to God, ſhe ne'er had yielded to the Importunitys of *Sextus*, but choſe to ſacrifice her Reputation, rather than defile her ſelf by Adultery. But this was not her choice. She bravely held out againſt all the Prince's Attacks, even when he threaten'd her Life. But when he threaten'd her Reputation with eternal Infamy, ſhe fairly ſurrendred, and then ſlew her ſelf. An evident Argument, ſhe valu'd nothing in the Vertue but the Glory which attends it, without the leaſt regard to any Obedience due to the Gods; for they who act from Religion, are content to ſubmit to the Reproach of the World rather than the Guilt of a Crime. We muſt therefore allow, *Lucretia*'s Religion had no part in her Chaſtity, and that ſhe had been exactly what ſhe was in this reſpect, tho ſhe ne'er had heard there was a God.

You'l tell me, perhaps, I take a deal of needleſs pains, by indavouring to eſtabliſh what none conteſts, that Atheiſm deſtroys not the deſire of Praiſe. What will you have me do? Will you have me prove that Atheiſm wou'd not prevent mens annexing the Idea of Seemly, to what's really Unſeemly? that in a Society of Atheiſts, for example, the Glory of Woman-kind wou'd ne'er be plac'd in Chaſtity? If this be all, there's no occaſion for new Arguments; it ſuffices, that in *Rome* a Woman's Honor was made to conſiſt in Chaſtity, tho the Religion of the Place did naturally lead to conſider Inceſt and Adultery as Practices Divine. If then, contrary to the Inſtincts of Religion, it became a ſtanding Maxim among the Pagans, that Chaſtity and Modeſty were honorable

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in Women, by a much ſtronger reaſon they'l be thought ſo among thoſe who have no Religion at all. And it being as natural for Men to ſet a Value on things in proportion to what they coſt, as to be pleas'd when they think themſelves diſtinguiſh'd, People had ſoon diſcover'd by a bare inſtinct of Nature, that 'tis the Intereſt and Glory of Womankind not to laviſh their Favors; which alone naturally and inſenſibly brings things about to that uniform ſtate in which we find 'em throughout almoſt all the Commonwealths of the World.

SECT. CLXXXI. *A new Obſervation, ſhewing that Men don't walk according to their Principles.*

ON what ſide ſoever we turn our Thoughts, it can't be deny'd that Man acts continually againſt Principle: For if it's pretended, the antient Idolaters had fix'd Notions of their Divinitys rewarding Vertue and puniſhing Vice; I ask, How came theſe Idolaters to be ſo very wicked? If it be ſaid, they were wicked becauſe their deteſtable Theology repreſented their Gods as guilty of a thouſand Crimes; I ask, How come there ſo many Vertuous among the Pagans, and ſo many Profligates among Chriſtians, with whom this Reaſon do's not hold? There's no other Anſwer, than owning that the true Spring of Human Actions is ſomething very diſtinct from Religion. Which yet hinders not Religion's falling frequently into the Scale, and caſting it powerfully o' that ſide to which Conſtitution inclines. For example, a Cholerick Chriſtian is on a ſudden red hot with

with Zeal against those of a different Sect. Religion, say they, is what moves the Man: No, say rather, it's natural Emulation, and the pleasure we all take in out-doing our Concurrents, and revenging our selves on those who arraign our Conduct.

The Author of *a Treatise against Atheists, Deists, and Modern Pyrrhonians*, printed in 1677. has said a thousand fine things, and with a world of Eloquence: he has not forgot this Thought among the rest, * *That had Atheism, or Deism prevail'd in the first Ages, the World, far from subsisting a whole Eternity under such an Opinion, had been destroy'd long ago.* To prove this he introduces a feign'd † Dialogue between two Atheists, in which we see that Reason, Laws Natural and Civil, Justice and Vertue are so many words without a meaning. This he proves very judiciously; but not having consider'd one material Point, which I pretend to have demonstrated, to wit, That Men ne'er act by Principle, we may with good ground alledg he has prov'd nothing in this place. What he makes one of the Partys to the Dialogue say, can ne'er be call'd in question by sound Divines; *That* ‖ *the Pagans had all idoliz'd the predominant Passion of their Soul, and form'd all their Vertues and Felicitys by this Standard: That the Phantom of Glory supported 'em under the sharpest Sufferings, and urg'd 'em to Efforts, which put their Example above imitation: That the Horrors they gave Spectators, were an unspeakable Pleasure, which made 'em amends for all their Anguish: That* Manlius Torquatus,

* Ch. 11. p. 238. † Ch. 12. ‖ P. 264.

that

that idolatrous worshipper of Glory and Country, Sacrific'd his Son to these Idols.

The love of Country, and the love of Praise,
Their Trophys over vanquish'd Nature raise.

That Alexander *had naturally the highest Ferment in his Blood and Spirits, an open Heart, a large and diffusive Soul; which meeting in one Person, becomes the Foundation of what we call Generosity. That* Titus *had a natural Horror to Blood and Cruelty, found the greatest Charms in the love of the People, and form'd his Merit and Goodness on this principle of Self-love: That* Epicurus *was a Slave to the Pleasures of Sense, and plac'd his Felicity in 'em: That* Seneca *was perhaps less affected with these Pleasures, and judg'd Vertue consisted in governing Nature: That* Cato *was cold and phlegmatick, and extracted his Wisdom from this Phlegm.* Isn't this what I have so often said, That the Pagans only follow'd the bias's of natural Temper, and their taste for one particular kind of Glory? And since in driving with this Wind, they sometimes kept the true course of Vertue, what ground is there to imagine Atheists mayn't make the same Port?

Because, perhaps, they aspire but faintly to Glory? But what cou'd outdo * *Spinosa*'s Vanity a little before his Death? The Account is of a fresh date, and I have it from a good hand. He was the rankest Atheist that e'er liv'd, and so bewitch'd to certain Principles of Philosophy, that to meditate on 'em with greater success, he betook himself to a profound Retreat, renouncing

* *He dy'd at the* Hague, *Feb.* 21. 1677.

all

all the Pleaſures and Vanitys of the World, and intirely occupy'd in his abſtruſe Reaſonings. When he found himſelf near his end, he ſent for his Landlady, and beg'd her to let no Clergyman come near him in that condition. The reaſon of this Caution, as we are inform'd by his Friends, was, leſt any Expreſſions ſhou'd drop from him in the heat of Diſpute, or decays of his Underſtanding, which might be made uſe of againſt his Principles; that is, leſt it ſhou'd be reported, his Conſcience awakening at the ſight of Death, had made him renounce his Principles, and bely his former Conduct. Is it poſſible to conceive a more ridiculous and extravagant Vanity, or a more ſenſleſs Paſſion for the falſe Idea one forms of Conſtancy? We ſhall ſee more Examples of this kind.

SECT. CLXXXII. *Atheiſm's having its Martyrs, is an infallible Sign it do's not exclude the Ideas of Glory and Honor. A Reflection on the Conduct of* Vannini.

WHEN I conſider Atheiſm has had its Martyrs, I can no longer doubt that Atheiſts have an Idea of what's Honeſt, which has more power over 'em than the Profitable or Pleaſant. What elſe ſhou'd bewitch *Vannini* ſo undiſcreetly to broach his Doctrines before thoſe who might drag him to Juſtice? Had he only ſtudy'd his private Intereſt, he'd have injoy'd his own Thoughts quietly, without troubling himſelf to make Proſelites. 'Tis plain therefore he was very ambitious, and this either to make himſelf the Head of a Party, or to deliver Men from a Yoke, which in his Opinion

nion hinder'd their taking a full swing of Pleasure. If he design'd to make himself the Head of a Party, 'tis an Argument he look'd not on bodily Pleasure, or Riches, as his chief Good, but aim'd intirely at Glory. If he meant to deliver Men from the fears of Hell, with which he believ'd they vainly disquieted themselves, 'tis a sign he thought himself oblig'd to seek his Neighbor's Good, and judg'd it an honest part to be serviceable to Human-kind, not to his prejudice only, but even to the hazard of his Life: For *Vannini* cou'd not be ignorant that an Atheist who seeks his Profit, may find his Account much better among honest Devotes, than among Sharpers and Villains; the former supplants no body by Cabal and Intrigue, and far from over-reaching, or coveting his Neighbor's Goods, will rather part with his Right than contend with one he sees resolv'd to forswear himself; whereas the latter is generally the Aggressor in Fraud and Perjury, and all the villanous Ways of blasting his Competitor's Projects. So that it's the Interest of an Atheist, who designs to make his Fortune, there were none but good Men in the World; and *Vannini* mistook his Measures, if he propos'd by the establishing Atheism to begin a Scramble. He ought rather to have contributed to make all Mankind Devotes. Besides, he knew 'twas Death to propagate Atheism: so that by indeavoring to infuse his Impiety, he risk'd all the Advantages to be made of a good Conscience in others, and his Life into the bargain. A false Idea therefore of Generosity must induce him to sacrifice all to his Neighbor's Good.

But how comes it he did not deceive his Judges, and chuse to die in the sharpest Torments, rather than make a Recantation, which on his Principles wou'd do no prejudice in another World? Why did he not pretend his Eyes were open'd, and renounce his Impiety, seeing he believ'd not Hypocrisy forbad by any Supreme Power? We must allow on the whole, that either he'd do something extraordinary merely to be talk'd of, like that obscure Wretch who burnt *Diana*'s Temple; or conceiv'd such Notions of Honor, as made him judg it a meanness unworthy of Human-kind, to dissemble his Sentiments out of a fear of Death. It can't be deny'd then, that Reason, without the express Knowledg of a God, may carry Men to notions of Honesty, sometimes just, and sometimes misunderstood: And in either case the Example of *Kanaan*, is an incontestable Argument of what I have so often advanc'd, that Men never act according to their Opinions. For had this Fool for one acted thus, he had left every one to his own Belief; or rather wish'd all the World, except himself, a parcel of Devotes, as being the fittest Tools for a Hypocrite to work by. What was't to him, if the true Christian deny'd himself the Pleasures of this Life? If touch'd with pity for him, he forsakes his Principles, which oblige to no concern for another: Besides his being grosly mistaken here, for no Pleasures of Sin are comparable to the Ravishments a devout Soul injoys even in this Life. And for the common sort of Christians, his Pity was needless, because they divert themselves as much as if they had no Religion at all. After having prepostrously discover'd his wicked Heart, he shou'd

shou'd at least have sworn himself off, renounc'd his Errors, and offer'd to sign all the Articles of Faith with his Blood. Instead of this he stands it out, from a ridiculous Point of Honor, and stiffens under the Torments. Which shews he was capable, with the same degree of Obstinacy, to lay down his Life for Atheism, tho firmly persuaded of the Being of a God.

To this Example of *Vannini* we may join that of one * *Mahomet Effendi*, executed at *Constantinople* not long ago for having advanc'd some Notions against the Existence of a God. He might have sav'd his Life by confessing his Error, and renouncing it for the future; but chose to persist in his Blasphemys, saying, *Tho he had no Reward to expect, the love of Truth constrain'd him to suffer Martyrdom in its defence.* A Man must needs have an Idea of Honesty who talks at this rate; and if he carry his Obstinacy so far as to die for Atheism, his Passion for Martyrdom shall be capable of exposing him to the same Torments, tho in reality no Atheist.

Sect. CLXXXIII. *A Review of the Objection drawn from the Difficulty of converting an Atheist.*

I Desire no other Answer to those who say, Atheism being the most incorrigible disposition of Mind, is necessarily worse than Idolatry. An Idolater, say they, whom you endeavour to bring over to the true Religion, is agreed in a great many Points. You lose no time with him

* *Sir* Paul Rycaut, *l.* 2. *ch.* 12.

in proving a God; whereas the Atheiſt ſets out here, and ſuch is his Obſtinacy, that one grows old in wrangling with him e'er this ſingle Article is clear'd. For which reaſon, *Origen* laboring in the Converſion of two Pagan young Gentlemen, one of 'em afterwards St. *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, † *allow'd 'em to read all the Philoſophers and Poets except thoſe tending to Atheiſm; judging it infinitely more dangerous, being accuſtom'd to hear there was no God, than to be acquainted with the different Opinions of the Philoſophers concerning the Gods, whoſe Worſhip, the more extravagant it was, the likelier to render Men ſuſceptible of the true Religion.*

I intreat thoſe who reaſon at this rate to conſider,

I. That for one Atheiſt who perſiſts to Death in his Impiety, there are a million of Idolaters in the ſame Bond of Obſtinacy.

II. That the Perverſeneſs of this ſmall Number of Atheiſts proceeds not from their Atheiſm; for according to the Remark I have already made, they ought by their Principles to comply with the Religion of the Country: And not doing this, we muſt conclude, they are obſtinate from natural Temper, and poſſeſt with a furious ambition of diſtinguiſhing themſelves by ways extraordinary; a Diſpoſition which may make one, perſuaded of Religion, ſtand Fire and Fagot in defence even of Atheiſm. This being the Caſe, had *Vannini* been an Idolater, a Jew, or Mahometan, he had been at leaſt as ill diſpos'd for the reception of the true Religion, as the moſt obſtinate Atheiſt.

† *See the Life of* Tertullian *and that of* Origen, *by Mr.* de la Motte, *p.* 543.

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SECT. CLXXXIV. *Whence ariſes the difficulty of believing.*

III. BESIDES, I'd have People attentively conſider whence the Difficulty of converting Men to the Goſpel proceeds. Thoſe for the moſt part who reaſon on this Subject, ſeem perſuaded, that the Difficulty ariſes not from Mens being requir'd to believe incomprehenſible Myſterys, but from being injoin'd to renounce their Luſts and Paſſions. Thus People generally ſpeak of this Matter.

Were no more requir'd to the being a Chriſtian, than ſaying in one's Heart, *I believe what's told me of the Myſtery of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and all other Articles the Church will have me believe, without obliging me to comprehend*; the Profeſſion of the Goſpel cou'd deter none: every one wou'd undertake to believe whate'er was propos'd, provided he were not requir'd to crack his Brain, or live by any other Rule than Fancy. Not that Believing is ſo eaſy as ſome are apt to imagine; but that we take it for granted nothing's eaſier, ne'er reflecting on the Nature of the thing. *Some impoſe on the World,* * *and wou'd be thought to believe what they really don't; but much the greater number impoſe on themſelves, not conſidering nor thorowly apprehending what it is to believe.* Be it how it will, every one judges himſelf capable of profeſſing Chriſtianity, when he imagines that to be a Believer, 'tis ſufficient in a careleſs way to ſignify he's poſſeſt of *that ſpeculative* † *Faith concerning the Myſterys which*

* Montagne's *Eſſays*, l. 2. c. 12.
† Rapin Foi de dern. Siecles. p. 115.

costs nothing, and that superficial Faith which rests in the bare Understanding. But when told, that to believe the Gospel as he ought, 'tis necessary to mortify his Lusts, to love his Enemys, to bear Injurys and Contempt with chearfulness; in a word, to strive against the Torrent of sensual Inclination: then Nature and Reason revolt in Consort, the Man will hear no more of the Christian Religion.

Reason, which just before was ready to take the Veil of implicit Faith, accustom'd as she was to be reserv'd even as to the Credulity of Idolaters, acquiescing in Doctrines not only more incomprehensible than our Mysterys, but also fraught with Absurditys, Farce, and staring Contradictions: Reason, I say, will no longer hear of believing things she can't comprehend. This is downright industrious Illusion, or a study'd Pretence to conceal the true Cause of our Unbelief. We dare not avow, that the Reason why the Gospel do's not sit easy, is, because it injoins us to live vertuously; we dare not, I say, avow this, tho this is all the Grievance. So some blind Excuse is trump'd up, and we set our selves to dispute against the speculative Articles. The Heart, determin'd ne'er to yield, makes the Understanding, its old Bubble, take up Arms in its defence. * St. *Chrysostom*'s inimitable on this Point, and 'tis from him we take this Maxim, *That the* † *Reason why we believe not a Divine Revelation, is our unwillingness to live up to it.* If this Reflection be right, it fol-

* *In* I ad Corinth. c. 3. † Τὸ ἀπιστεῖν τοῖς ἐντολαῖς ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἀκριβειαν ἀκλέλυθαι τῶν ἐντολῶν γίνεται. Id ad Demetrium.

lows,

lows, that Idolaters, however inur'd to the belief of things incomprehensible, are no better dispos'd for Conversion than Atheists; because that Resistance, which the Heart makes against the Holy Spirit, springs intirely from the Corruption of natural Temper, the Unruliness of the Passions, an Inclination to Sensuality, Qualitys all prevailing no less in Idolaters than Atheists. 'Tis a Mistake then to fancy the worst is over, when those we'd convert to the Gospel are previously persuaded of the Existence of a God; for all the great Obstacles are still in the way.

As to the alledg'd Authority of *Origen*, I'l presume to say, his Reasoning at best can pass only for probable. It can't be deny'd there's something plausible in't, when consider'd in one Import: but take it by another handle, it loses much of its Force. In effect, Mr. *de Condom*, who has so much Justness of Thought, and so much Soundness of Judgment, makes no scruple of reasoning in direct opposition to *Origen*, seeing he supposes Idolatry hard to be destroy'd, merely because extravagant. *Idolatry*, says he, * *appears as Weakness it self, we can scarce conceive the Necessity of such powerful Means to destroy it. But quite contrary, its Extravagance shews the difficulty of the Conquest; and its Contradiction to good Sense, how much this Principle was depray'd.* I don't suppose this Prelate design'd a Parallel between Idolatry and Atheism; but 'tis plain, his Argument to prove Idolatry hard to be destroy'd, proves it harder than destroying Atheism. *All the Senses*, says he, † *all the Passions, every Interest struggled for Idolatry. 'Twas a Reli-*

* Disc. sur l'Hist. univers. 2 Part. ch. 12. † Ibid.

gion contriv'd for Pleaſure; the Diverſions, Games, Spectacles, and Licentiouſneſs it ſelf, made a part in the Divine Worſhip. Their Feaſts were ſo many Amuſements; nor was native Modeſty laid aſide in any Interval of human Life, ſo much as in the Celebration of their religious Myſterys. How ſhou'd Minds ſo deprav'd be reconcil'd to a Religion, holy, chaſt, ſevere, oppoſite to Senſe, and intirely reaching forth to things inviſible? Then he ſhews how powerfully Intereſt, that is, the Profits and Pomp of the Pagan Religion, the exceſſive prejudice for Antiquity, and Reaſons of State, conſpir'd to the Support of Idolatry. Now who ſees not that theſe mighty Springs have no room to play in a Society of Atheiſts?

We ſhall ſee anon whether any other Cauſe may be aſſign'd for the Difficulty of converting Men to God, beſide that mention'd in the Entrance of this Article.

SECT. CLXXXV. *Reflections on the Conduct of* JESUS CHRIST *towards the Phariſees and Sadduces.*

IT looks as if our Lord JESUS CHRIST wou'd ſignify by his Behavior towards the Phariſees and Sadduces, that the main Obſtacle to our Converſion lies in an ill Diſpoſition of Heart. The Phariſees were much more Orthodox than the Sadduces. They believ'd all the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament. They ſhew'd an extraordinary Zeal for the Law of God; nor did they think its Obſervation ſufficient without the Obſervance of ſeveral Traditions, and Cuſtoms, and unwritten Ceremonys. The Sadduces made much ſhorter work, retrench'd a thouſand things they judg'd

judg'd ſuperfluous, and confin'd their Faith to the five Books of *Moſes*, and the believing God a Being of infinite Perfection; but farther, believ'd neither Spirits, nor the Immortality of the Soul, nor Reſurrection of the Body. Theſe are Doctrines of the laſt Impiety; yet the *Jewiſh* High Prieſt and *Sanhedrim* never proceeded againſt the Sadduces, nor cut 'em off from the Communion of the *Jewiſh* Church; which they had infallibly done, had this Sect been guilty of Idolatry.

SECT. CLXXXVI. *Of the Jews Averſion to Idolatry.*

IN effect, the dreadful Puniſhments God had inflicted on the *Jews* for their Idolatrys, had imprinted ſo ſtrong a horror for this Sin, that they ſcarce cou'd forbear riſing in Arms againſt the fierce Tyrant *Herod*, on his ordering a Temple to be built to *Auguſtus* in *Judea*. The ſame Tyrant having ſet up a Golden Eagle on the great Gate of the Temple, had the Mortification, not long before his Death, to ſee it cut down in open Day by a Body of the young Men * of *Jeruſalem*, at the Inſtigation of ſome Doctors of the Law. *Pilate* having ſoon after order'd the Emperor's Images to be brought into the City by Night, the *Jews* ran immediately in a Tumult to *Ceſarea*, humbly beſeeching him to take 'em away; which at laſt they obtain'd, after waiting five Days and five Nights ſucceſſively at his Palace-Gate, in the Poſture of Supplicants, offering their Throats to the Soldiers naked Swords, to whom *Pilate* threat-

* Joſeph. Ant. Jud. lib. 17. cap. 8. l. 18. c. 4. & 11.

ned

ned to deliver 'em, unleſs they conſented to admit the Emperor's Images. They acted the ſame part not long after, proteſting to the Pretor *Petronius* with incredible Conſtancy, they'd ſooner be cut in pieces than ſuffer *Caligula*'s Statue to be ſet up in the Temple. They had before prevail'd by their Prayers, not, as an illuſtrious Prelate * relates, that the Troops under the Command of *Vitellius* ſhou'd march thro *Judea* without their Enſigns, but that they ſhou'd take another Rout, for fear of ſhocking the Jewiſh Religion, which ſuffer'd no Object of Idolatry within the Borders of the holy Land.

They thought the Preſence of an Idolater profan'd the Holineſs of their Myſterys, and, cou'd not bear a Pagan's appearing at their Divine Service. Their Scruples went ſo far, that they made it a Sin to ſit down in the ſhade of a Tree where any Idol had ever ſtood, or paſs under it when they cou'd take another way; and if there was no avoiding it, they were to paſs running. This the learned † *Maimonides* informs us, with many more Particulars of like Force. It's evident from theſe Remarks, that the *Jews*, who had once the true Religion, and were Depoſitarys of the Will of God, accounted Idolatry a Crime more abominable than that Hereſy which denys a future State. However, this is not what I chiefly aim at; my Deſign is to ſhew, our Saviour expreſt a greater Indignation againſt the Phariſees than againſt the Sadduces. 'Tis the Phariſee he attacks on every Quarter; at theſe he points his ſharpeſt Cen-

* Mr. de Gondom, Diſcourſ. ſur l'Hiſt. ex Joſepho l. 18. c. 7.
† Lib. de Idolol. c. 7. Sect. 16.

ſures,

ſures, theſe he endeavors to diſcredit; and why? becauſe tho their Principles were more Orthodox, their Heart was more leven'd with Pride and Hypocriſy, which indiſpos'd 'em more than others for the Reception of the Goſpel.

Sect. CLXXXVII. *Whether there be any other Cauſe of Incredulity beſide an Inclination to Vice.*

BUT all who reaſon on the Cauſes of the Difficultys in converting Men to the Goſpel, don't univerſally affirm, they ariſe from an ill Diſpoſition of Heart only. They think it poſſible the Difficulty may ſometimes proceed from an involuntary Darkneſs of the Soul; and that as there are Objects we can't perceive with the naked ſight, tho deſir'd ever ſo much, ſo there are Truths which ne'er appear ſuch to our Underſtanding, even where there's a good Will and Endeavor to apprehend 'em. Let People ſay what they pleaſe, our Facultys never act, unleſs the Object bear a juſt proportion to 'em. If the Object of Sight be too minute, or too diſtant, or in the dark, we may pray long enough to ſee 'em, but reſt ſatisfy'd we never ſhall, and yet have good Eyes too. On the other hand, if one's born purblind, we may hold him an Object at a juſt diſtance for a good Organ, and yet he ne'er diſcern it. And who has inform'd us, that the Objects of the Underſtanding don't require the ſame proportion to its Facultys, in order to be perceiv'd? Where is't reveal'd, that a good Will to believe 'em true, is ſufficient to make their Truth evident? Who has told us, that the interior Light of the Soul is always clear enough to perceive all preſenting

ſenting Objects at any diſtance, or under any kind of Veil? For my part, without denying that many wilfully blind themſelves, I ſtand by what I ſaid before *, that 'tis an incommunicable Divine Prerogative to know who are maliciouſly blind to the Myſterys of Faith. And as there are Underſtandings which ſee more Force in an Objection than in the Anſwer, tho the latter is more ſolid, and tho they are no way prejudic'd to either ſide; ſo others may give into Reaſons of leſſer Force, without being led by the Motions of any inordinate Paſſion.

The Philoſophy of this Age proves in a moſt convincing manner, that the Soul's diſtinct from the Body, and conſequently immortal; yet how many are there who can't comprehend the force of its Demonſtrations? Don't tell me, they are Perſons who wiſh the Soul extinguiſh'd with the Body. For, quite contrary, they are ſuch as ardently deſire its Eternity. I appeal to *Cicero* †, who aſſures us, he wiſhes in the firſt place, that the Soul were immortal; and in the next place, if not ſo, that he were however perſuaded it was. He adds, while he's reading over *Plato*'s Diſcourſe on the Soul, he thinks himſelf convinc'd by his Arguments; but as ſoon as he lays the Book by, and reflects a little, all his fine Perſuaſion vaniſhes. Next I appeal to *Seneca* ‖, who tells us, *He took a*

* *Sect.* 160. † Me vero id delectat, idque primum ita eſſe, deinde etiamſi non ſit, mihi tamen perſuaderi velim. *Tuſcul.* 1. ‖ Juvabat de æternitate animarum quærere, imo mehercule credere. Credebam enim facile opinionibus magnorum virorum, rem gratiſſimam promittentium magis quam probantium. Dabam me ſpei tantæ. *Epiſt.* 102.

Pleaſure

Pleaſure in reaſoning on the Immortality of the Soul, or rather in believing it; he readily entertain'd the Opinions of ſeveral great Men, who promis'd rather than prov'd this agreeable Point. I gave, ſays he, *into the mighty Hopes.*

Here are two of the fineſt Wits of Antiquity doing their utmoſt to believe the Immortality of the Soul, and yet far from being thorowly convinc'd. Some on the other hand, according to the Remark from *Minutius Felix* cited * before, wiſh the Soul extinguiſh'd with the Body, but can't bring themſelves to believe it. We ſee thouſands daily in Diſtraction, that they can't doubt of a hundred things they wiſh they had never known, and vainly ſtriving to ſhut their Eyes to the Merits of an Enemy. 'Tis not true then, that our Paſſions are always the Rule of our Opinions. And 'tis falſe, that whenever we don't clearly perceive an important religious Truth, we are under the Power of ſome ſecret Paſſion, whoſe Intereſt it is to keep us in the dark.

But 'tis of no great Conſequence to my preſent Argument, whether Men reſiſt the Goſpel, becauſe their Underſtandings are cover'd with Clouds riſing from a corrupt Heart, or becauſe bury'd in an Abyſs of involuntary Prejudices; for which way ſoever we explain it, ſtill I have a right to maintain, that Atheiſts are not harder to be converted than Idolaters. Will you have it, that Men reſiſt the Goſpel, becauſe it enjoins the ſubduing their Paſſions? I aſſert, and think I have prov'd, that Idolaters are as great Slaves to their Paſſions as Atheiſts. Or will you have it, that

* *Sect.* 177.

they

they reſiſt the Goſpel, becauſe it requires 'em to believe things incomprehenſible? I aſſert, and think I have prov'd, that Idolaters have their Underſtanding as much darken'd, and ſtuff'd with as many ridiculous and extravagant Prejudices, as Atheiſts.

SECT. CLXXXVIII. *How the Pagan Religion tended to make Men Atheiſts.*

WHEN I attentively reflect on't, it appears, that Atheiſts were not indeed of the beſt Mold to make bigoted Votarys to Paganiſm; but I don't find why their Converſion to the true God ſhou'd be more difficult than that of Idolaters. The Pagan Religion taught things ſo ridiculous concerning the Divinity, that any Man of good Senſe, who had grown up in Atheiſm, wou'd chuſe to continue in his Principles, rather than acknowledg ſuch a ſet of Gods as thoſe of the Heathens. 'Twas beſides a Religion authorizing the moſt abominable Crimes; and this it was made the Atheiſts ſcorn and deteſt it as a piece of State-Policy, equally cruel and * illuſive: This occaſion'd their ſaying, Were Religion given by the Gods, 'twas rather a Mark of their Wrath than Good-will towards Men. This, in ſhort, prevail'd with many to renounce it, and betake themſelves to Atheiſm. Hear what † *Plutarch* delivers.

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* Religio peperit ſcelerosa atque impia facta,
Aulide quo pacto, &c.
Tantum Religio potuit ſuadere malorum. *Lucret. l. 1.*

† Traité de ſuperſtit. traduit par Mr. Le Fevre.

'Tis

'Tis Superstition, says he, *gave Birth to Atheism; and 'tis this daily gives a handle for its justifying and defending it self, if not with Justice, at least with Colour and plausible Pretence. For they who first embrac'd Atheism, were not mov'd by any Flaws they observ'd in the Heavens or the Stars, in the Seasons of the Year, or Revolutions of the Sun, which by its Motion makes the Night and the Day; nor yet by any Defect or Inequality in the Provision made for the several Species Animals, or the Production of the Fruits of the Earth: No, Superstition alone was the original Cause; its strange Behavior, its ridiculous Passions, its Speech and Gesture, its Sorcerys and Enchantments, its Mazes and Wandrings, its filthy and abominable Purifications, its Drums, its shameful beastly Incontinence, its barbarous Mortifications, the Cruelty exercis'd on it self in the open Temples; these fine Things all together are what gave some Persons occasion to say, 'twere better Men had no Gods at all, than such as cou'd approve these Practices, cou'd take Pleasure in Services so strange, abuse their strictest Votarys, be angry no body knows why, and disturb'd about Trifles. In effect, had not the* Gauls *and* Scythians *been much happier in never hearing of Gods, in never having had the least Thought or Idea of 'em, than in believing there were such Beings, yet such as took Pleasure in the Effusion of human Blood on their Altars, and accepted these barbarous Sacrifices as the thing in the World most agreeable to their Nature, and most worthy their Majesty? And how much better for* Carthage, *had a* Critias *or* Diagoras *been its Legislator, Men who believ'd neither a God nor Spirit, than offer* Saturn *his usual Sacrifices?*

The Religion of Idolaters being such as we see, there's no Probability an Atheist wou'd change sides,

ſides, or bear a part in their comical and criminal Worſhip. But were the Chriſtian Religion fairly propos'd, which teaches concerning God, only all things great, and holy, and ſublime; which enjoins the practice of the pureſt Vertues, and the moſt conformable to right Reaſon, he cou'd not have the ſame Difficultys to alledg: So that unleſs the reigning Paſſion of his Soul, or ſome prodigious Stupidity obſtruct, he muſt ſee that embracing the Goſpel-Profeſſion is infinitely a more reaſonable choice than the way he is in.

SECT. CLXXXIX. *Tho Man is extreme corrupt, he can't endure Religion's commanding a Crime.*

I Can't forbear making a ſhort Reflection in this place on a Caprice of the Human Mind; That tho a dear Friend to Vice, yet it won't approve its being authoriz'd by the Precepts of Religion. The ſame Men who reject the Goſpel on the account of its auſtere Morality, wou'd with greater Horror reject a Religion, enjoining infamous Riots and Debaucherys, were ſuch a Doctrine propos'd to 'em, while in a capacity of Reaſoning, and before they were loſt in the Prejudices of Education. There's not a Debauchee nor Miſs in *Paris*, that wou'd not lift Stones at a Preacher, who ſhou'd have the Front to tell 'em God approv'd their criminal Pleaſures. How looſe ſoever the Lives of moſt Chriſtians be, 'tis probable, did a Heretick ariſe, who taught openly and without diſguiſe, that the Goſpel indulg'd Men in every Thought of their Heart; he'd make no progreſs at all, or make much leſs than if affecting auſtere

ſtere Ways, and railing with extreme Liberty at the Manners of eminent Men. People were cautious of ſcandalizing the very Gentiles, by broaching Doctrines which were an Inlet to Licentiouſneſs; and therefore *Lucretius* in his Proem, opening his deſign of reaſoning on the Principles of *Epicurus*, that glorious Religion-Tamer, adds very ſilly, for fear of ſtartling the World, * *No body ſhou'd thence infer he deſign'd to favor Crimes, ſince 'twas Religion which often committed the blackeſt.*

It ſeems ſtrange we ſhou'd be oblig'd to ſuch caution with Mankind; but this is another of the Contradictions in his Frame. Conſidering the general Inclination to ſatisfy our deſires, we ought to run after thoſe who preach a general Indulgence: and yet we abhor 'em. Since a looſe Morality looks ſo abominable in our Eyes, we ſhou'd cleave to that which is ſtrict: and yet we are ſcar'd at it. Is it that we'd have a juſt Medium, which allows part, but won't grant all? But even this, if well examin'd, won't fit us: For either we take all, tho we'd by no means have it freely permitted; or exceed the Point at leaſt, which was fix'd by thoſe who indulge in part.

Politicians have remark'd a like Contradiction in the Minds of Men, with regard to their deſire of Liberty. 'Tis a Jewel they're mighty fond of, and yet they cannot bear it. Then they can bear

* ——————— Vereor ne forte rearis
Impia te rationis inire elementa, viamque
Indugredi ſceleris. ———————
Lucret. lib. 1.

Slavery? No, * *they can neither bear a thorow Liberty, nor a thorow Slavery.*

† *To frame a ſtubborn People to your Will,*
'Tis beſt not treat 'em over-well, nor treat 'em over-ill.

Then they do beſt in a Temper between Liberty and Slavery? No, they can never find this Temper, nor long abide in't. ‖ *'Tis the Nature of the Multitude, either to crouch like Slaves, or lord it like Tyrants. That Liberty which lies between both, they know not how to part with, nor how to preſerve.*

SECT. CXC. *The Reaſon of this.*

WOU'D you know the Reaſon why Men won't away with a Religion which indulges nothing, nor a Religion which permits all? I'l tell you, becauſe of one hand their carnal Luſts are craving for a Good-natur'd Religion; and common Senſe tells 'em on the other, That to be true, and worthy our Obedience, a Religion ought to come from God, and God can never authorize Sin. For which Reaſon, he who ſits down to chuſe a Religion, and deals honeſtly with his own Heart, will ne'er chuſe one which teaches the practice of Vice; becauſe this very thing ſhews it's not from God, and that 'tis a pure Invention of

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* Nec totam ſervitutem pati poſſunt, nec totam libertatem. *Tacit. Hiſt. l.* 1. † Solon apud Plutarch. in Parall. Solon. & Poplicolæ. ‖ Hæc natura multitudinis eſt, aut ſervit humiliter, aut ſuperbè dominatur. Libertatem quæ media eſt nec ſpernere modicè, nec habere ſciunt. *Liv. Dec.* 3. *l.* 1.

Men,

Men, which no body is bound in Conſcience to obey. But if he ſees a Religion which enjoins the practice of all Vertues in the higheſt degree, what will he ſay then? He muſt acknowledg it has the Characters of Divine, if he examine it carefully, and muſt reſolve to embrace it, unleſs the Love of Vice with-holds. Which ſhews, tho an Atheiſt expreſſes a Contempt and Horror for the falſe Religions, we can't conclude he'l expreſs a like for the true, more than an Idolater. On the contrary, he ſeems to be in a better ſtate for diſcovering its Divinity, than a Pagan; becauſe the Pagan is not now to think of chuſing a Religion. He had one put upon him long before he came to the Uſe of Reaſon; he's highly pleas'd with it, and won't ſo much as examine whether 'tis poſſible any thing in't ſhou'd be amiſs.

Be that how it will, we'l allow the reclaiming Atheiſts and Idolaters equally difficult, if conſider'd by their Diſpoſition of Heart, equally bad in both, and equally capable of being mended or mar'd by the Impreſſions of Cuſtom, Education, Acquaintance, or that particular Taſt which grows up with us. But as 'tis certain, a Mind wedded to a falſe Religion, is harder ſet right than one without any Religion at all; we muſt allow, that Atheiſts, take all Circumſtances together, are eaſier converted to the true God than Idolaters.

SECT. CXCI. *Whether the outward Profeſſion of Religion can be any benefit to 'em.*

ONE might add, That Atheiſts making no Scruple of outwardly profeſſing the Chriſtian Religion, are likelier to be charm'd by it

than Idolaters; who from the falſe Principles they have imbib'd, abhor the very Name and outward Profeſſion. But to this Reaſon may be oppos'd the Experience of the *Spaniſh* and *Portugueze* Inquiſitions, which daily diſcover intire Familys of *Jews*, *Jews* even to Fire and Faggot, who from time immemorial have made profeſſion of Chriſtianity; and the better to impoſe on the Neighborhood, been very regular in the outward Exerciſes of the Catholick Religion: Beſides, that Atheiſts, generally ſpeaking, make profeſſion of the Court-Religion. Whence it follows, that for one who bears the outward Form of a Chriſtian, there are a hundred do not. I ſaid, generally ſpeaking, becauſe it's known, ſome Men utterly void of a Senſe of Religion, continue as to the outward Profeſſion in the Sect they were bred, tho it has not worldly Advantages on its ſide; either that they are void of Ambition, or that the Appearances are kept with leſs trouble in their own way; or that they have a vanity of being thought conſtant, or won't diſoblige their Friends or Parents, or not be thought to change out of Intereſt, or for any other Reaſon.

SECT. CXCII. *Why he has enlarg'd ſo much on this Matter.*

THeſe, Sir, are ſome of the Reaſons, by which I not long ſince heard a Perſon, as illuſtrious for his Piety as Learning, prove Idolatry to be worſe than Atheiſm. I fear I have drawn 'em out to too great a length, and inſiſted too long on an Incident which carry'd me off from my firſt Deſign. But as his Diſcourſe touch'd me very ſenſibly,

ſenſibly, and made me enter into my ſelf more perhaps than any Sermon, and even apprehend that the little Good which may be in me, is exceeding imperfect, becauſe of the human Motives which mix but too often; I had a mind to know your Thoughts of this Doctrine, and for this Reaſon explain'd it at large: beſide its being highly agreeable to the account of the Fall of *Adam*, and very oppoſite to the *Pelagians* *. It ſeems at firſt ſight to extenuate the Atrocity of Atheiſm: but ſcan his Deſign ever ſo little, you'l ſee he's agreed, that Atheiſm in it ſelf is a State of ſuch Malediction, and in which Men are ſo abandon'd, as ſtrikes a horror; tho he do's not believe it the higheſt Degree of Reprobation, when compar'd with the Infamys of Paganiſm.

SECT. CXCIII. *A Reflection on* Plutarch's *Treatiſe of Superſtition.*

IF you compare this Diſcourſe with that of *Plutarch* on a like Subject, I perſuade my ſelf you'l find, the Antient has no way the advantage, whether you conſider the Matter, or the Manner of treating this Point. I may be allow'd to praiſe what I have no great part in, and ſhew wherein he excels one of the greateſt Men of Antiquity.

Plutarch's deſign is to prove, that Superſtition is worſe than Atheiſm. Now as Idolatry is infinitely more abominable than Superſtition, 'tis plain this Author has work'd on Matter much leſs odious, leſs ſhocking and extravagant than that of the Diſſertation I have given you. As for the

* *See before Sect.* 160.

manner of handling it, 'tis evident there's a greater Compaſs and Force in the Reaſonings here, than in *Plutarch*'s Treatiſe; and an infinite variety of Ideas, which there's not the leaſt appearance he e'er thought of. The Reaſon he urges moſt, and which he lays a mighty ſtreſs on, is the weakeſt in the World. He compares the Inquietudes of a ſuperſtitious Soul, with the Security of an Atheiſt; and pretends, becauſe Atheiſm lets Men enjoy a profound Peace, and Superſtition throws 'em into continual Alarms, one is much worſe than t'other. With ſubmiſſion to this Great Man, he neither underſtood the Queſtion, nor reaſons aright: For our buſineſs is not to compare Atheiſm and Superſtition in their Phyſical Good, but only with relation to their Moral Effects. Now it's certain, there are ſome things morally better than others, which yet don't afford ſo much Indolence and carnal Security. Who doubts but ſome People's Reſt is broke a nights by their meditating on the Importance of Salvation, whilſt thoſe who reel to Bed dead-drunk, ſleep moſt profoundly? Muſt we therefore ſay, it's better drown one's Senſes with Drink, than meditate on the Four laſt Things? By *Plutarch*'s way of Reaſoning we ſhou'd prove, 'tis better lie in the downy Bed of Pleaſure, free from Care, than work Night and Day, as an honeſt Lawyer may do for an oppreſs'd Client; and that perſecuted Vertue is worſe than proſperous Vice. He reaſon'd then ſomewhat amiſs in this place.

Yet I own this Treatiſe of *Plutarch* is not unworthy of the Praiſes beſtow'd on't by Mr. *Le Fevre*, Father to the Illuſtrious *Madamoiſelle le Fevre*, who has enrich'd the Publick with ſo many learned

learned Pieces: (Pray permit me to give her her due Praiſes, tho a Hugonot; and don't be of the humor of thoſe moroſe intractable Catholicks, who think it a Crime in Men of the moſt Worth, in a * *De Thou*, a *Paſquiers*, a *Servins*, that they expreſs an Eſteem for ſome Hereticks of Renown.) I own further, that where *Plutarch* takes the principal Abominations of antient Idolatry to task, he ſolidly proves it worſe than Irreligion: And the Author of the Summary prefix'd to this Work in *Amiot*'s Verſion, is of the ſame opinion. He openly defends *Plutarch* againſt all who condemn this Doctrine: herein of *Arnobius*'s mind, who has left us the following Paſſage, which to me ſeems very judicious. † *I have often admir'd*, ſays he to the Pagans, *when reflecting on your monſtrous Theology, with what Impudence you can call thoſe Atheiſts, and Impious, and Sacrilegious, who abſolutely deny the Gods, or doubt their Exiſtence, or maintain they were Men deify'd on the account of ſome uncom-*

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* *See* Poſſevin. Judic. de 4 Scriptor. Obſerv. de Richeome. ſur le Plaidoy. de Servins, &c.

† Jamdudum me fateor reputantem mecum in animo rerum hujuſcemodi monſtra, ſolitum eſſe mirari, audere vos dicere quenquam ex his Atheum, irreligioſum, ſacrilegum, qui Deos eſſe animo aut negent, aut dubitent, aut qui eos homines fuiſſe contendant, & poteſtatis alicujus aut meriti cauſâ in Deorum numerum relatos, cum ſi rerum fiat atque habeatur examen, nullus quam vos magis ejuſmodi par ſit appellationibus nuncupari, qui ſub ſpecie cultionis plus in eos ingeratis maledictionum & criminum, quàm ſi apertè hoc facere confeſſis maledictionibus combibiſſetis. Deos eſſe qui dubitat, aut eſſe omninò qui negat, quamvis ſequi ſententias immanes opinionum videatur audacia, ſine ullius tamen inſectatione perſonæ fidem rebus non accommodat involutis—— Vos verò, &c. *Arnob. lib.* 5. *adverſ. Gentes.*

mon Gift, or tranſcendent Merit. When if we rightly conſider things, none ſo juſtly deſerve theſe Cenſures as you, who on a pretence of honoring, bring 'em under a greater Guilt and Reproach, than it's poſſible by open Reviling and Contradiction. He who doubts the Exiſtence of a God, or denys it point-blank, is guilty of a very bold and monſtrous Opinion, but wounds no Perſon's Honor or Reputation: He only refuſes to believe what he can't comprehend ——— But you, &c. Remember, Sir, you can't condemn my Doctor, without condemning one of the Fathers.

If this great Man's Reaſoning hold, there's no more to be ſaid. We muſt indiſpenſably own Comets are not Signs of God's Wrath, ſince likely to fix Men in the moſt wicked State 'twas poſſible for 'em to arrive at. Suffer me now to take breath awhile after this Excurſion, tho I have not yet given in my full Anſwer to the Objection. You ſhall have what remains in a ſhort time.

Auguſt 2. 1681.

SECT. CXCIV. V Anſwer: *That there's no Example proving, God has miraculouſly form'd Prodigys for the pretended Converſion of any one to Idolatry.*

TO finiſh my Anſwer to the firſt Objection, I ſay, Sir, the alledg'd Example of *Horace* is of no force againſt me. For firſt, it's not certain there ever was any Thunder or Lightning in a ſerene Sky, as mention'd in the antient Catalogue of Prodigys. Had this been frequent, *Lucretius* had ne'er preſum'd to maintain the contrary in a publick Work, but rather endeavor'd to aſſign the

the natural Cauſe by the Doctrine of his Atoms. Beſide, that our Relaters of Prodigys, with all their exactneſs, don't mention this as I remember. Farther, were it true that there really had been Prodigys of this kind, 'twou'd prove nothing concerning Comets, becauſe it wou'd not prove that God had caus'd this Thunder miraculouſly to convince Men of a Providence, as 'tis pretended he forms Comets miraculouſly to warn 'em of the Evils to come. I deſire to know the reaſon for believing that God work'd Miracles, ſo needleſs on one hand, and ſo favorable to Idolatry on the other, as thoſe Peals, for example, of Thunder in a clear Sky.

SECT. CXCV. *How unprofitable Miracles had been among the Pagans in one reſpect, and how favorable to Idolatry in another.*

I Say, they favor'd Idolatry, becauſe they led Men to believe, that the Gods requir'd more Sacrifices and new Honors, and by their Fears render'd 'em ingenious at inventing new Ceremonys either Superſtitious or Idolatrous. I ſay likewiſe, they were uſeleſs, becauſe the World was overſtock'd with Temples and Religions; and the few who follow'd the Doctrine of *Epicurus*, were no more to be mov'd by a Clap of Thunder in a clear Sky, than by ordinary Thunder, and all the other wonderful Works of Nature. And if *Horace* was unconverted till he heard ſuch a Clap, 'tis undoubtedly becauſe he was a Convert only from Caprice, or Chance; like the *few*, who unmov'd by all the Paſſages of Scripture which prove a Tri-

a Trinity, fancy'd he lit on a Demonſtration at laſt in ſome myſterious Combination of the Letters in a certain Text, which no body alive but himſelf cou'd perceive.

SECT. CXCVI. *The Unprofitableneſs of converting an Epicurean to Idolatry.*

AFter all, *Horace*'s Converſion was really ſo ſmall a matter, 'twas hardly worth a Miracle. He had been an Epicurean all his life, and now became an Idolater. Do you think, Sir, he was a hair's breadth the nearer to the Kingdom of Heaven? Can you ſay this was a fair Step towards coming into the Boſom of the Church? Do you think 'twas a Miracle well beſtow'd, which converted a Soul to Idolatry? For don't miſtake, *Horace* broke not with one of his Miſtreſſes, nor retrench'd in any Article of ſenſual Pleaſure. His Converſion amounted to no more than believing the Gods govern'd the World, inſtead of believing, as he did before, that they led a Life of Bliſs free from all care; and paying his Adorations to *Jupiter*, and all the Divinitys of *Rome*, in the publick Aſſemblys of the *Roman* Idolaters. For any thing further, he diverted himſelf in his old Way, and thereby paſs'd to a Belief as erroneous and injurious to the Gods as that he abjur'd; becauſe he ſuppos'd it as lawful to gratify his Paſſions under Gods which govern the World, as under thoſe which do not; and conſequently, that the Gods require of us no Purity of Heart; or if they do, one ought not however to quit his old Track: which is much more ſhocking, than believing they have no inſpection over human Affairs.

So

So that, all things conſider'd, *Horace*, converted from Epicuriſm by the pretended Miracle, became much a worſe Man than before (the perſuaſion of a Providence enhancing the Sin) and more ignorant of the Divine Nature: for he's much miſtaken who fancys the disbelief of a Providence is the groſſeſt Error concerning the Divine Nature. I own it's a very groſs one, and oppoſite to all Principles of good ſenſe; but affirm, other Errors are more abſurd.

SECT. CXCVII. *That there are groſſer Errors than the disbelief of a Providence.*

I. SUCH Errors, for example, as thoſe of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who built Temples, and ordain'd Feaſts and Sacrifices to *Cybele*, as Mother of the Gods; to *Jupiter*, as Husband to his Siſter *Juno*; to *Phœbus* and *Diana*, as Children of *Jupiter*, &c. To ſay nothing of *Romulus*, Founder of the City of *Rome*, and one of its principal Gods, whom they believ'd the Son of the God *Mars*, and *Rhea Sylvia*, ſprung from the unchaſt Amours of the Goddeſs *Venus*: So that they cou'd not trace the Genealogy of *Romulus* without diſcovering that a Goddeſs had debauch'd the good *Anchiſes*, and a God had raviſh'd a tender Maid, whoſe Virginity was conſecrated to the Goddeſs *Veſta*; an Act wou'd have coſt any mere Man his Life, when Crimes of Incontinence had the higheſt Toleration. Who ſees not that this is conceiving the Gods under a meaner and more unworthy Idea, than that which deprives 'em of the Government of the World?

II. Such

II. Such likewiſe were the wild Opinions of thoſe, who, as I have already obſerv'd, ras'd the Temples of the Gods, when they thought themſelves ill us'd; and of all in general, who tho perſuaded of a Providence, deny'd nothing to their Luſts and Paſſions. For either they muſt ſuppoſe the Gods approv'd theſe ways, or elſe that one need not trouble himſelf whether they did or no. Deteſtable Thought! and infinitely more injurious to the Deity, than believing with *Epicurus*, he led a life of Eaſe and Bliſs, without perplexing himſelf with other Peoples Affairs; becauſe it's infinitely more diſhonourable to be concern'd in the Government of a City, and ſuffer all kind of Diſorder, than not to meddle in't at all. By this one may perceive the Enormity of that Judgment which Chriſtians form, when they commit a Sin upon mature deliberation: and conclude, that without taking in the Malice of their Heart, they are under a blindneſs of Underſtanding no leſs monſtrous than that of a Heretick.

III. Such are the Extravagances of the *Talmud* and *Alcoran*, ſome of which the Learned *Grotius*, and the Marquis *de Pianezza* mention in their Treatiſes of the *Truth of the Chriſtian Religion.*

IV. Such, the Opinions of the Modern Jews, who, as ſome ſay, believe it a good Work, and highly meritorious in the ſight of God, to cheat the Chriſtians, not only by frequenting Maſs with great appearance of Zeal, to elude the Inquiſition, but ruining 'em by knaviſh Bargains, exceſſive Uſury, and breach of Truſt. Of which *Leo* of *Modena*, a Rabbi of *Venice*, indeavors to clear 'em, in his Book *of the Ceremonys and Cuſtoms of the Jews*, whereof the Learned Mr. *Simon* has lately given a

ſecond

second Version. The Rabbi assures us, that they who say or write that the Jews bind themselves by Oath to cheat a Christian every day of their Life, and count it a good Work, invent the Calumny only to render 'em more odious. If his Complaint be wrong, the Jews are bound by Maxims much worse than the Error of *Epicurus*. But if right, their Accusers are led by a more detestable Principle than any of this Philosopher. For nothing's more heretical, than believing God can be pleas'd with the Violation of the common Notions of Equity: And therefore I am amaz'd to see either so many Missionarys in *France*, blind enough to persuade the Magistrates they perform a pleasing Service to God, by oppressing the Innocence of Hugonots, where the demolishing a Church, the expulsion of a Minister, or conversion of some Religionarys may insue; or so many Magistrates weak enough to give into these unhappy Maxims. 'Twere infinitely better they were indifferent to all Sects of the Christian Religion, than be carry'd away with so impious a Zeal in favor of the True.

V. Of this stamp likewise was the Thought of the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, who imagin'd the Gods had a Body which took its Nourishment from the Exhalations, as the Stoicks taught the Sun was fed by Vapors arising from the Ocean, and therefore always ply'd within the Zodiack, for fear of moving too far from its * Sustenance.

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* Ne longius discederet a cibo. *Cicer. de Nat. Deor. lib.* 3. Ut omnis latitudo, quâ sol cum quinque vagis, & luna ultrò citroque discurrunt, habeat subjecti humoris alimoniam. *Macrob. in somn. Scip.*

The

The Emperor *Julian*, who mentions this Thought of *M. Aurelius*, do's not ſay by what particular kind of Exhalations the Gods were refreſh'd. But I think it probable he means the Perfumes and Smoke of the Sacrifices: for the antient Pagans not only believ'd that the departed Souls came to drench in the Liquors pour'd out on their Sepulchres during their Sacrifices; but it appears from ſome Paſſages of the Fathers, that the Heathen Gods were very liquoriſh, and ran after the Odors of the Victims with extreme greedineſs. If *M. Aurelius* thought the Gods had need of ſuch Nouriſhment, he muſt conſequently believe their Worſhippers might put 'em out of Commons as oft as they pleas'd.

VI. Such likewiſe are the odd Conceits of thoſe Superſtitious, who repreſent the Divinity as implacable, unleſs a hundred little Nicetys are obſerv'd, or Crimes committed to its Honor; after the example of the *Carthaginians*, already mention'd, who ſacrific'd their innocent Children. Whereupon a certain Author crys out very pertinently, * *Alas, miſerable Mortals! your ignorance of the Divine Nature is the original Cauſe of your Crimes.*

VII. Such, in the laſt place, are thoſe Doctrines maintain'd by great Names among Chriſtians: *That we muſt not keep Faith with Hereticks: That dy-*

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* Mos fuit in populis quos condidit advena Dido,
Poſcere cæde Deos veniam ac flagrantibus aris,
Infandum dictu parvos imponere naſos. *Sil. Ital. l. 4.*
. . . . . .
Heu primæ ſcelerum cauſæ mortalibus ægris
Naturam neſcire Deûm. *Id. ib.*

ing

ing in a Conſpiracy againſt a Heretick Prince, is a degree of Martyrdom: That it's lawful to kill an Enemy, rejoice at the Death of a Father, and force Abortion to prevent Scandal: That one is not oblig'd to love God, nor reſtore what one has ſtole at ſeveral turns, if only a little at a time; with many more too tireſom to enumerate. One can't deny that diſowning a Providence is a leſs Error in a Heathen, than theſe Doctrines in a Catholick Divine. The former imagines, God has given no Laws; the latter, either that he has given Laws abſurd and unrighteous, or that 'tis in Man's Power to annul the Laws of God, and pervert their Holineſs by his Interpretations; which is infinitely more ſhocking than believing that God leaves the World to Chance.

SECT. CXCVIII. *A Reflection on what happened upon occaſion of the 65 Propoſitions condemn'd by the Pope.*

I Underſtood about two years ſince, not without exceeding Conſolation, That his Holineſs, mov'd by his great Zeal for the Glory of God, and ſollicited by certain Orthodox Divines, had condemn'd 65 execrable Propoſitions which had appear'd in ſeveral Books, or Theſes publickly maintain'd. My deſire to ſee the Act of Condemnation, made me apply to ſeveral Friends at the ſame time for a Copy. But they wrote me word, the Parliament of *Paris* had iſſu'd ſo ſtrict an Order againſt this good Decree, that no body dare ſell it. This ſurpriz'd me mightily, I cou'd ſcarce believe it true. Some days after a Gentleman newly come from *Paris*, makes me a viſit, and main-

maintain'd, before five or ſix of us then in Company, That the Condemnation of this Decree was very juſt, or at leaſt excuſable; becauſe 'twas of great importance, ſays he, that a famous Society, one of the chief Supports of the Catholick Religion, ſhou'd not have a Slur put upon it, at leaſt indirectly, by the condemnation of the 65 Propoſitions: and this was what *Meſſrs.* of the Parliament wou'd provide againſt, by blaſting the Act of Inquiſition, which tended to diſcredit the R. Society of Jeſus. In a word, that the Society was grown ſo formidable, that the Members of the Parliament thought themſelves oblig'd to this Complaiſance, for fear of drawing their Reſentments, and the Effects of their Credit, upon their own back. Here I ſtop'd my Gentleman, and told him, his Ambition of being thought a true *Frenchman*, put him upon advancing things injurious in the main to Religion, and to the Nation; and he ought not to inſinuate at this rate, that things were come to ſuch a paſs, that a Society of Religious Men inſtituted within this laſt Century purely to dedicate themſelves to whatever concern'd the Glory of God, ſhou'd become ſo formidable in the State, that the moſt auguſt Sovereign Court of Judicature in the Kingdom, which heretofore had ſo bravely exerted it ſelf to bring this very Society within the bounds of Duty, ſhou'd now be oblig'd to ſcandalous Compliances for fear of incurring their diſpleaſure. No, Sir, ſays I, we can ne'er believe this; and perhaps you talk at this rate, only to expoſe an Illuſtrious Body, which might have done you ſome ill Office, to the publick Hatred and Contempt. To revenge your ſelf, you'd ſtily make us believe, it has taken abomina-

abominable Doctrines, condemn'd by our Holy Father the Pope, into its Sovereign Protection. And without giving him time to reply, I turn'd the Discourse on a Subject, with which I remember I had formerly entertain'd you.

SECT. CXCIX. *Reflections on the different manner of proceeding against Vices and Errors.*

I Say, I ever thought it strange there shou'd be such a difference made between Error and Vice; and that the Spirit of the Catholick Church shou'd be so much more bent against Tenets which don't exactly fall in with its Decisions, than against a disorderly Life. We make no scruple to give a Man Christian Burial who has lost his Life in a Duel, and was notoriously guilty of all Excesses. If a Noble Lord stealing by Owl-light into another Noble Lord's House to lie a Night with his Lady, happens to be kill'd in cold Blood by the Servants, he shan't be bar'd lying in a stately Chappel, with his Epitaphs and Inscriptions about him. But if a Doctor of Divinity, of irreproachable Manners, has the misfortune to refuse Confession on his Death-bed, alledging it's sufficient to repent and confess his Sins to God, he shall be mention'd with Horror, and deny'd a Grave in consecrated Ground. *Jansenius*, whose Morality was so rigid, and who made the necessary Submissions to the Church, cou'd not injoy the Elogys of his Epitaph in peace, upon a pretence he was Heterodox in the Doctrine of Predestination. If a Man at Confession declares he has a Scruple concerning the lawfulness of invoking the Saints, he runs a greater risk of being sent away without Absolu-

tion, than if he confeſs'd a Murder, or Theft, or Adultery. Abundantly greater: The Errors which have no relation to a good Life, are darted back with much fiercer Wrath, than thoſe which have. Shou'd a Doctor of the *Sorbon* have the boldneſs to raiſe a Doubt concerning the Myſtery of the Incarnation; I don't mean as to the ſubſtance of the Article, but the manner of explaining it: Shou'd he, for example, affirm, That the Human Nature of JESUS CHRIST is a Perſon, without deſigning to derogate in the leaſt from the Merit of his Sufferings; or advance, that the Human Nature was ſo united to the Divine, that the Will of one became the Will of the other; they'd immediately proclaim him a *Neſtorian*, a *Monothelite*, his Benefices be beg'd, and himſelf run the risk of being ſton'd to Death. But ſhou'd he think fit to broach ſome Maxims only of looſe Morality, like the famous *Eſcobar*, the World's content to ſay he has done amiſs; and after ſeveral Negotiations, perhaps, obtains a Cenſure of his Doctrines. Sure I am that in *Spain*, where infinite ſcandalous Propoſitions, and directly oppoſite to the Spirit of the Goſpel, are advanc'd with Impunity; ſhou'd a Man lay down in his Theſis, that the Body of St. *James* is not in *Galicia*, that the Bleſſed Virgin is not Queen of the World, and that ſhe was not tranſlated viſibly into Heaven, he'd be drag'd without Mercy to the Priſons of the Holy Office, and never ſee the Sun more.

Shou'd a Parcel of Hugonots be found aſſembling in *Rome*, and worſhipping God in their way, there's no kind of Severity which wou'd not be exercis'd againſt them, and againſt the Place of

 their

their Assembly: Yet not a word is spoke against the Courtizanes, who for so many Ages have injoy'd a full Liberty of Conscience in this first City of the Universe. The Congregation of Cardinals and Bishops, who drew up a Project of Reformation by the Appointment of Pope *Paul* III. a little before the Council of *Trent*, * propoſes, among other Particulars, the reforming an Abuſe crept into *Rome*, by which the Courtizanes were allow'd to go about the Streets, either a Foot or in Litters, magnificently attended, and lodg'd in the noblest Houses. But after several Debates † of the Cardinals in a full Consistory, on this as well as other Articles, 'twas resolv'd to adjourn to another Opportunity, and so the Matter rested ever since. Which exposes us to two very perplexing Objections: First, That People can't comprehend by what Authority a greater Indulgence is granted to Immorality than Heresy. Secondly, That it appears not why Heresy, if punishable in a Hugonot Citizen of *Rome*, shou'd not be punishable in a Courtizane of the same Place: I say, Heresy in a Courtizane, because it's certain a Strumpet who goes on in her Iniquity for twenty or thirty Years together, whatever compliance or regard she may bear to the Doctrine of the Church in her general Judgment, forms a private Judgment every day of her Life, by which

* In hac urbe Meretrices ut Matronæ incedunt per urbem, seu Mulâ vehuntur, quas assectantur de mediâ Die nobiles, familiares Cardinalium, Clericique .... habitant etiam insignes ædes. Corrigendus etiam hic turpis abusus.

† Fra. Paolo *History of the Council of* Trent, Lib. 1. ad an. 1537.

ſhe reſolves in her own Breaſt, that 'tis better diſobey the Laws of God than obey 'em. Who dare deny that theſe Judgments, ſo often reiterated, don't render a Soul exceeding heretical? Why then if the Courtizane be ſpar'd in quality of a Proſtitute, is ſhe not puniſh'd in quality of a Heretick? You'l ſay, becauſe ſhe does not dogmatize againſt the Deciſions of Councils. What, is it not dogmatizing againſt the Deciſions of Councils, to keep open School for propagating Impurity? Does not one make more Diſciples by preaching from * Example on any point, than by mere dry Theological Lectures? Beſides, a Burgher of *Rome*, who never went to Maſs, but perform'd his Devotions at home in the Proteſtant way, cou'd he be ſaid to dogmatize? No; wou'd they tolerate him tho?

I vow, Sir, theſe things have always appear'd ſtrange to me; and you can't forget how the late Mr. *Abbé de Villars*, Author of *The Count de Gabalis*, preſt you one Day in my preſence on this very point. I remember he told you very agreeably, *He did not wonder the bulk of Divines treated Vice and Errors in Morality much more tenderly than Hereſy and Errors in ſpeculative points, becauſe they found themſelves much abler at propagating Human kind, and the ways of Sin, than at propagating Hereſys. But for your part*, ſays he, *who are a Man of fine Thought and Wit; I'm amaz'd you ſhou'd not beg quarter for the Sallys of the Underſtanding, rather than thoſe of the Paſſions.*

* *See the Dialogue between* Socrates *and the Courtizane* Califto, *in* Elian, *l.* 13. *c.* 32.

SECT. CC. *That there are ſome Errors not criminal.*

WE reaſon'd on theſe points with that Freedom ſo dear to all genteel-ſpirited Men, which is often taken when none of the common People, nor bigotted Doctors are by; two ſorts of Men one muſt have a ſpecial Reverence for, the firſt for fear of ſtaggering their Faith, the latter for fear of becoming the Object of their fiery Perſecutions. If ever you and I meet, I may perhaps communicate our Reflections that Day in my Garden, and 'tis probable ſhall find you gueſs at a good part of 'em; for one need not be a Conjurer to know, that they who reaſon on this Head with that Diſpoſition of which I have given you a Specimen already, go upon this Principle, that Man is never allow'd to give into Vice, whereas there be infinite Errors which he may hug himſelf in with Impunity. I mean not any Errors in Philoſophy which make a noiſe in the Schools, whilſt Orders of Council are procur'd to ſilence the moſt rational Philoſophers; for it's plain nothing's more innocent in the ſight of God than blundering with the *Ariſtotelians* about the Nature of *Univerſale a parte rei*, ſubſtantial Forms, *&c.* I ſpeak of Theological Errors, and maintain we all form a thouſand falſe Judgments concerning the Nature of God and his Decrees: I affirm, all our People are *Anthropomorphites* and *Neſtorians*, and that there is not a Peaſant, who after learning by rote that God is a Spirit, and that JESUS CHRIST is God and Man in the unity of Perſon, does not form Ideas directly contrary to the Words which

he pronounces like a Parrot. So that all Error resting in the Understanding, a Man may be as Orthodox in his Words as he please; still he's a *Nestorian*, if he believes JESUS CHRIST, as Man, is a Person as properly and perfectly as himself. Now thus every Peasant living conceives him, very far from taking the right Distinction in this Case. What a Variety of Errors are there concerning the Nature of Angels and human Souls! some of the Fathers have not stuck to rank 'em among corporeal Beings, and say human Souls are propagated by Generation. Cardinal *Cajetan* in these latter Ages makes no scruple of teaching, that Angels are material Substances, little valuing the Authority of the Council of *Lateran* under *Innocent* III. where several eminent * Theologists tell us, the Spirituality of Angels was asserted. Some have gone farther, and even taught, that God is corporeal. These are Errors of so gross a nature, that were there Punishments for false Philosophy as well as for false Syntax, a Scholar who entertain'd such Opinions wou'd deserve a great many more Lashes than he who broke the Rule, *Mobile cum fixo*. But all this while, Sir, our common People, who are *Anthropomorphites* or *Nestorians*, and they who believe Spirits extended, and Philosophers who form such unworthy Conceptions of the Divinity, and Theologists who distinguish so many kinds of Wills in God, so many Knowledges, and so many Decrees; all these, I say, err without offending God: and there's no Calumny, how small soever, which is not a more heinous Offence

* Gregor. de Valent. in 1 Disput. 4. Quæst. 2. Vasques Disp. 78. cap. 3.

than

than all these Errors put together. For this reason, that these Errors are wholly involuntary, and that Men form these blind Judgments as well without Malice as without Liberty; whereas we run into moral Vice of all kind, from the highest to the lowest, with the full Exercise of our Liberty, and a clear Knowledg of the Evil we are about to commit.

Shou'd you guess we made this Reflection, you guess right, for it's true we carry'd it as far as 'twou'd go: Yet without convincing our Gentleman, who still insisted, and others besides him, that Man becomes criminal only by refusing to believe as the Church believes; he only confuted us by saying, *Were he a Prisoner in the Inquisition, he'd chuse to have as many Bastards to answer for as* Charlemagn *e'er got, rather than have taught, as* Galileo, *that the Earth turn'd round the Sun.* He was right, for *Galileo* had ne'er been brought to trouble, if instead of following *Copernicus* he had follow'd a Whore.

SECT. CCI. *What makes one Error more sinful than another.*

TO return to my Subject, I say, the Blindness of *Epicurus*, which obstructed not his honoring the Gods, or living a very regular Life, is nothing near so damnable, as those Errors of which I have given you a small Sample. For how comes one Error to be worse than another? From hence, I. That one is more wide of the Truth, and disparages its Object more than the other. II. That one leads to greater Crimes than the other, and in this last Circumstance principally consists the

ſting of Error. Now I maintain, theſe Errors which I have inſtanc'd are as wide of the Truth, and as injurious to God as the Doctrine of *Epicurus*, and attended with more abominable Iniquitys. So, Sir, you'l allow me to believe, that *Horace*, converted from *Epicurus*'s Principles, might have been in greater Errors than he was before.

SECT. CCII. *Had God work'd Miracles to declare his Goodneſs to the Pagans, he had workt for the falſe Gods.*

WHAT is't to me, if *Horace* entertain'd reaſonable Notions of the Nature of *Jupiter*, if he admir'd, if he ador'd his Patience and Juſtice, if he became a Votary? For ſince God is not to be glorify'd by any Honor paid to falſe Divinitys; ſince on the contrary all Sentiments of Fear and Love for theſe, are Acts of Idolatry; it's evident the Prodigy which converted this *Epicurean* cou'd produce nothing agreeable to Almighty God: Whence it follows, That God never produc'd this Prodigy miraculouſly, nor any Comet to convince the Pagans of his Goodneſs, Patience, or Juſtice; becauſe this were working for *Jupiter*, and for the other falſe Gods, and not for himſelf. And here, in Concluſion, is my full Anſwer to the Difficulty which I ſtarted.

SECT.

SECT. CCIII. 2d Objection: *Comets are produc'd without a Miracle. God might work Miracles among Infidels. God deſign'd to make himſelf known by the means of Comets. All Acts of Idolatry, occaſion'd by Comets, will render Men more inexcuſable.*

I Don't doubt, a World of Difficultys will ſpring up in your Mind as you read over my Anſwers; but I conceive they may be all reduc'd to theſe four: I. That the whole Force of my Reaſoning ariſes from a ſuppoſition, that Comets are miraculouſly form'd; and this you'l perhaps deny. II. That it follows from my Reaſons, God cou'd never work Miracles among Infidels; becauſe if I am to be believ'd, theſe Miracles muſt only prompt Infidels to redouble the Exerciſes of their falſe Worſhip. III. That I ſuppoſe, the Intention of God in forming Comets cou'd only be giving new Life to the falſe Devotions of Idolaters; which is a wrong Suppoſition, becauſe God, on the contrary, propoſes only to manifeſt himſelf. IV. And laſtly, that all theſe Conſequences of the Appearances of Comets, with which I have made ſo much noiſe, are only Abuſes of the Grace of God, which will ſerve to render Men more inexcuſable.

SECT.

SECT. CCIV. I. Anſwer: *If Comets were Signs of what happens after their Appearance, 'tis neceſſary they ſhou'd be miraculouſly form'd.*

IN anſwer to the firſt Difficulty, I ſay, it's impoſſible Comets ſhou'd be Indications of the Events which happen in the World, unleſs miraculouſly form'd. Thus I demonſtrate it: Since Comets are not the natural Cauſe of thoſe Events which follow, as I have already prov'd, and as will further appear by what remains; 'tis neceſſary towards their being ſtated Signs of theſe Events, there ſhou'd be ſome indiſpenſable Connexion between the Comets and them. Now this Connection is abſolutely impoſſible, if Comets be purely the work of Nature. Conſequently either they don't prefage what follows, or they are miraculouſly produc'd.

SECT. CCV. *A Liſt of ſeveral Hypotheſes which may be follow'd in reaſoning on Comets.*

TO prove this Connection impoſſible, I muſt deſire you to run over with me, the ſeveral Hypotheſes of Philoſophers for explaining the Nature of Comets. I. Some ſuppoſe 'em a vaſt pile of dry and inflammable Exhalations, which being once ſet a fire, muſt appear to our view ſo long as there remains any ſtock of Fuel to feed on. This is the Opinion of *Ariſtotle*. They who won't be wholly beat out of it, ſince 'tis diſcover'd by the Parallax that the Comets are above the Moon, have vary'd from this Opinion, as to the ſource of the

the Exhalations only: For whereas *Aristotle* imagines 'em intirely supply'd from the Earth; these on the contrary say, the Earth contributes no part of 'em, but that the Planets are at the whole Expence. II. Another set of Philosophers will have it, that the Comets are a cluster of several small Stars, which in Conjunction are able to form so large and luminous a Body, tho each of 'em singly and apart is invisible. III. Others believe 'em a Portion of the Celestial Matter, which becoming hard and condens'd, reflects the Light of the Sun towards us. IV. Many believe 'em Stars as antient as the World, and moving as regularly as the Sun; but because the Line they describe touches our World on some of the out Skirts only, we can never see 'em but while they take their course by those parts. V. The *Cartesians* suppose, that the Universe being divided into several Vortex's, each of which has a Sun in its own Centre, it sometimes happens, that one of those Vortex's is absorb'd into those which surround it; because the Sun which possest its Centre, being cover'd over with a thick Crust, loses that Force of moving a certain Portion of Matter round it self, which form'd its Vortex. Now as nothing's lost in Nature, the surrounding Vortex's gain by the Dissolution of this, each according to its degree of Force. The Sun of the ruin'd Vortex, now become an opaque Body, follows the same Fate, and is drawn into one of the adjacent Vortex's; if into ours, it forms a Comet during its stay.

SECT. CCVI. *That neither of theſe Hypotheſes diſcovers any natural Connexion between the Comets, and what happens upon Earth after their Appearance.*

EACH of theſe Hypotheſes has inexplicable Difficultys. But as this is not the Buſineſs in hand, I only obſerve, that whatever opinion we go by, it is equally impoſſible to aſſign any natural Connexion between the Appearance of a Comet and the Events which follow. For towards ſuch a ſuppos'd Connexion, 'twere neceſſary, that whenever, for example, the Powers of ſecond Cauſes had gather'd the dry combuſtible Exhalations of the Planets into a Body, and ſet fire to 'em; our Earth at that critical Juncture ſhou'd be provided to ſupply matter of Peſtilence, Dearth, ſubterraneous Fires, Hurricanes, *&c.* and Men be diſpos'd to revolt from their Allegiance, burn Citys, conſpire againſt their Prince's Life, form Plots for the Subverſion of the eſtabliſh'd Religion, breed Sects and Schiſms, ſeize their Neighbor's Eſtates, draw on themſelves the juſt Indignation of a potent Prince, refuſe, againſt all Equity and good Conſcience, to give up Provinces unjuſtly acquir'd. In effect, ſince all allow Comets are the Cauſes of thoſe ſad Diſaſters they are ſuppos'd to preſage, we ſhou'd look no higher than the Earth, and the Diſpoſitions of the Heart of Man for a Cauſe. Now 'tis impoſſible to conceive, how theſe Diſpoſitions in the Earth and in the Heart of Man, ſhou'd concur preciſely at the time when a great Pile of combuſtible Exhalations is got ready in the Heavens. It's therefore im-

impoſſible to comprehend this pretended Connexion.

I ſay, it's impoſſible to conceive, how this Earth and the Heart of Man ſhou'd be diſpos'd in ſuch a manner, as is requiſite for obtaining the Effect in queſtion; becauſe the Changes and Alterations in the Earth depend on ſeveral Cauſes different from thoſe which produce the Alterations in the Heavens: Nor is the Action of our Elements on one another, regulated by that Action above, which inflames or tempers the Planets. For example, a South Wind, which in ſome Provinces blaſts the Farmer's Hopes, does not hold in its Breath till *Saturn* has diſcharg'd a great quantity of fuliginous Vapors; whether this Planet be in a hot or cold fit; whether its Pores be ſhut cloſe, or whether they emit Plenty of Vapor; the South Wind blows, if Sun or any inward Heat rarefy certain Corners of the Earth, which depends not in the leaſt on the Circumſtances which *Saturn*, or *Jupiter*, or any other Planet is in. As for what concerns Men, they are ſometimes ſtir'd up to Rebellion by the Ambition of a great Man: ſometimes the Rabble riſe to reſcue a Darling Brute from his juſt Puniſhment. Wars between Princes ſpring from various Reaſons of State, or Paſſions which change for a Trifle. A Detail were endleſs, of all the Reaſons which beget civil and foreign Wars; but one may ſafely affirm, that nothing of this kind is concerted in the Region of *Jupiter* or *Saturn*. It's evident then, there's no Connexion in nature between what paſſes here below after the Appearance of Comets, and this Appearance.

SECT. CCVII. *When there's a Subordination of ſecond Cauſes, and when not.*

I Know that all ſecond Cauſes, as well thoſe which compound and which inflame the Exhalations in the Heavens, as thoſe which temper the Air, and which bring Rain and dry Weather, are ſubject to one general Cauſe, which puts 'em into Action with a marvelous Harmony. Yet, I ſay, the Effects produc'd on Earth vary not with reſpect to any change in the Order of Effects in the Heavens, becauſe the firſt and general Cauſe, which puts all the reſt into Action, applys by the Powers of each in particular, without recurring, for the Effects of one Cauſe, to the Powers of another. For example, to produce Fire in Wood, the general Cauſe conſiders only the Virtue of the Fire apply'd. Be all the other Cauſes in Nature diſpos'd as you will, be the Sun eclips'd, Rivers froze over by a North Wind, be there Rain, or Snow, or Battels fought: the Fire burns on, and burns neither more nor leſs for all this; the firſt Cauſe exerts the full Virtue of the Fire, as tho there were no Eclipſe, *&c.* I except thoſe Cauſes only which may immediately affect the Wood, as Water pour'd on't; for in this Caſe the Fire operates not with equal Succeſs, nay extinguiſhes, if the Force of the Water be ſuperior. In all other Caſes, its Virtue is in no Subordination to the Virtues of any other Bodys; and conſequently the Effects produc'd on Earth don't go hand in hand with thoſe in the Heavens. So that nothing is more unreaſonable than imagining the ſublunary Bodys are conſpiring to ſtarve and infect us when-

whenever a great many Exhalations, discharg'd from the Planets, are got to the general Rendezvous, and there take fire.

This appears the more absurd, as we know by Experience, that the very Bodys which hover over the Earth, are not regulated by one another's Steps: But when it's fair Weather in one Country, it may or may not be so in the next. We sometimes see a Plague of Rain in one Province, while another is afflicted with a Drought, yet without its being a constant Rule: For perhaps it shall ne'er happen again, that one of these Provinces is expos'd at the same time to an Inconvenience directly contrary to that of the other. How then can it be conceiv'd, that Causes so distant as Heaven and Earth, whose Qualitys are very different, which act without any Subordination or Dependance on one another, tho all under the Direction of the same General Cause, shou'd yet operate with so exact a harmony, that if one kind take up six Years to produce its Effect, the other shall take up but just as many; if one be disturb'd or forwarded in its Operations, the other must be so too? He renounces common Sense, who can believe such Improbabilitys.

Take notice, Sir, I always suppose Comets concur not as Physical Causes of the Events which happen on Earth; for on this depends the whole force of my Reasoning. I well know, where several Causes are employ'd to the same Action, he who has the directing Part, so adjusts their operating Powers by one another, that they either do or do not advance, according as seems best for attaining the propos'd End. A King, for example, who brings five or six Armys into the Field,

and

and without communicating the Occaſion to one of his Generals, makes 'em all concur to the ſame Deſign, ſo regulates the Movements of one of theſe Armys by the Circumſtances of the other, that either may properly be accounted the Cauſe of the other's acting as they do. But the Caſe is different with regard to the Earth and Planets: For we go on this Suppoſition, That God do's not apply 'em to the producing of any certain Effect by a Correſpondence and Union of Virtues, ſo as the Planets ſhou'd perfect and finiſh what they were to contribute, preciſely at the time the Earth cou'd furniſh its Quota. On the contrary, we ſuppoſe the Planets produce a Comet without the concurrence of the Earth, and the Earth in its turn produces a great many Calamitys without the Phyſical concurrence of Planets or Comets. In which Caſe it's evident, there can be no neceſſary Correſpondence of Effects on which to ground a Judgment, that when the Planets have produc'd theirs, the Earth muſt forthwith produce its own. And conſequently, if Comets be Signs of impending Calamitys, God muſt produce 'em on purpoſe, when he ſees the Earth is brooding theſe Calamitys; for perhaps it may ne'er happen by the Courſe of Nature, that when the Earth is in ſuch a diſpoſition, an inflammable Matter ſhou'd at that critical time be ready in the Heavens to form a Comet.

Sect. CCVIII. *An Explication of this Doctrine.*

I'M no Enemy to the Opinion of one of the greateſt * Philoſophers of the Age, who ſuppoſes God moves all Bodys by the moſt ſimple,

* *Father* Malebranche.

general,

general, and uniform Laws; so that there's only one and the same Law for the Motion of Flame here on Earth, and for the Motion of all Matter, at what distance soever 'tis suppos'd. Yet I say, the Alterations which happen on Earth, depend not on the Dispositions of Bodys in any other part of the Universe. Let's suppose a Column of Water, determin'd by the Opposition of surrounding Bodys, and in virtue of the general Laws, move circularly in the midst of the *Rhine*, while the same Causes overturn a House on its Banks. We clearly conceive, tho these two Motions are the Consequence of the same Law, yet one depends not on the other: which manifestly appears from hence, that the Cessation of one, hinders not the Continuance of the other. The Whirlpool in the River continues, tho the House is not in being. Let all the Forests round be set a fire, all the Vineyards destroy'd, the Whirlpool's no way affected. An alteration may follow in the Temperature of the Climate; several particular things be vary'd and diversify'd; yet others remain constantly the same. Hence we have ground to conclude, That the general Laws of Motion might produce the same Effects they now do, with regard to one particular Body, even tho the Dispositions of Matter were intirely different from what they are in a hundred other places besides. And therefore the Earth mayn't necessarily receive one Disposition rather than another, because the General Laws cause one Modification rather than another in the Sphere of *Saturn*. Else we must say, that because such a Man rose at eight this Morning, and not at six, all the Bodys in a hundred Leagues round, receive Modi-

fications different from what they might have had, if he had got up at ſix. And this being abſurd, we muſt allow, tho the ſame general Laws which form Comets where we ſee 'em, produce all the Alterations which happen on Earth; yet theſe Alterations are not, by the Appearance of a Comet, become different from what they wou'd have been, had no Comet at all appear'd: And conſequently inſiſt, there's no reaſon the Earth ſhou'd be diſpos'd to ſuch a particular Alteration, to a Peſtilence ſuppoſe, or Famine; becauſe the Regions of the Planets have ſuffer'd ſuch a particular Alteration.

SECT. CCIX. *A further Explication on the Syſtem of Occaſional Cauſes.*

THE true Reaſon of this is, That the general Laws of Motion, how ſimple ſoever and uniform, are yet executed by the Concurrence of infinite Occaſional Cauſes, whoſe vaſt Variety ſplits as 'twere the general into an infinite Number of particular Cauſes, which don't appear to have any dependance on one another. For example; *If the Author of Nature has fix'd this General Law, That Motion ſhall be communicated to the ſeveral Parts of Matter, according as they ſtrike on one another; and that the Quantity of Motion which each receives, ſhall be proportion'd to the Dimenſions of the Bodys which hit:* This Law, ſimple and uniform as it is, muſt inevitably vary in the Execution, into infinite particular Principles; one of which ſhall here produce one Effect, another a quite contrary Effect in another Place.

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I don't mean that the Cauſe of Motion, conſider'd in it ſelf, loſes its Simplicity; but that complying in one place with one Occaſional Cauſe, and in another place with another, its Effects muſt be as different and independent of one another, as if produc'd by two different Principles. And, in a word, ſeeing the Occaſional Cauſe of each particular Motion, is only the Situation and Bulk of the Body mov'd; and that the Situation or Bulk of a Stone pitch'd on the Roof of a Houſe, depends not, either on the Situation or Size of other Stones in the Street, nor on its being hot, or wet Weather, *&c.* 'tis evident the Force which moves all Bodys in general, when apply'd to the Stone on the Houſe-top, operates only with regard to the Situation and Bulk of that ſingle Stone. It moves indeed many other Parts of Matter at the ſame time; but its Action on theſe is not regulated by any thing reſpecting the Stone. The General Cauſe finds ſomething in every Inſtance, which determines it after a particular manner; and conſequently, the Stone receives no one Affection more than another, by virtue of the ſeveral Motions produc'd elſewhere. And we muſt not think it ſtrange, that the Effects of Nature ſhou'd be thus independent of one another, tho proceeding from one and the ſame Cauſe, by one and the ſame Action; becauſe we ſee the falling of Water on a Wheel produces a hundred different Figures in a Machine, which are all ſo independent of one another, that tho you ſtop ſeveral of 'em, the reſt ſhall keep playing exactly as they did before.

SECT. CCX. *A Confirmation of this Doctrine, from what happens when Miracles are wrought.*

THIS is further confirm'd by a Conſideration of the Miracles recorded in Scripture. One muſt renounce common Senſe, to imagine, becauſe God gave a Motion to Matter within the Borders of *Egypt*, by a Law different from the General Law; therefore Matter in all other Parts, receiv'd a different Modification. Far from it: All things hapned, even in this Country, exactly as they wou'd, had God done nothing extraordinary for his People; the ſame Harveſts, the ſame Cold, Rain, Winds, *&c.* The Changes then produc'd in one portion of Matter, occaſion no new Change in all the reſt. And conſequently 'tis not poſſible to conceive, that the Alterations in our Elements, which cauſe Plagues and Famines in the Earth, keep pace perpetually with the Alterations which produce a Comet in the Heavens.

'Twere needleſs enlarging ſo much on this Matter, had I only to deal with the common Principles, which don't ſuppoſe ſo cloſe a Connexion and Chain of Events, as thoſe of Mr. *Deſcartes*.

SECT. CCXI. *An Application of what has been ſaid on the firſt Hypotheſis, to three more of the Five.*

THE Application is obvious to the ſecond, third, and fifth Hypotheſes, and ſhews the Difficulty alike in all; becauſe a Conjunction of ſeveral ſmall Stars, the condenſing ſome Parts of the

the *Ether*, and the converting of a Sun into a Planet on the Diſſolution of an intire Vortex, can't in the common Courſe, or by the Laws of Nature, be ſo exactly concerted and tim'd with the Action of thoſe Bodys which produce our Calamitys, that one muſt conſtantly keep pace with the other.

SECT. CCXII. *That the fourth Hypotheſis won't admit the Connexion we ſpeak of.*

CONcerning the fourth Hypotheſis, I have * already ſhewn, it's Nonſenſe that the Bodys which alter our Elements, ſhou'd finiſh their Ingredients for a Peſtilence, Famine, *&c.* exactly at the ſame time that Comets return to any one Point of the Line which they deſcribe. For either the Comets always take up the ſame Space of Time for finiſhing their Courſe, or ſometimes fulfil their Revolutions with more diſpatch, ſometimes with more delay. Chuſe which Suppoſition you pleaſe, here's work enough cut out for you.

The firſt Suppoſition is moſt in vogue at preſent, for we talk now only of the Return of the ſame Comets at ſtated Times. Some aſſign 'em a Revolution † of forty ſix Years. Others ‖ pretend, that the Comet which lately appear'd, is the ſame which appear'd in 1577. and ſhall appear again in 1784. Others think to find their Account better by another Calculation. All ſupport their Opinions by the Teſtimony of *Diodorus* of *Sicily* ‖‖, who relates, that the antient A-

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* *Before, Sect.* 33. † *Mr.* Petit, *Intendant of the Fortifications.* ‖ *Mr.* Caſſini. ‖‖ Bibliotheq. Univerſ. l. 1, 2, & 15.

ſtronomers of *Egypt* and *Chaldea* foretold the Return of Comets. Let 'em do their beſt, they ſhall find a hard matter to reconcile their Notions to the Phenomena; and the Authority of *Diodorus* will ſtand 'em in little ſtead, becauſe we're inform'd by other hands *, that *Eudoxus*, who firſt taught the *Greeks* what he had learnt in *Egypt* concerning the Motions of the Stars, made no mention of Comets. Whence we may reaſonably conclude, the *Egyptians* had then made no Obſervations upon 'em. We may conclude the ſame from *Conon* his Succeſſor's learning nothing among the *Egyptians* touching the Motions of Comets, how diligent ſoever in collecting the Obſervations made by 'em on the Eclipſes of the Sun. As for the *Chaldeans*, it's true, *Apollo Myndius*, who boaſted of his ſtudying among 'em, is poſitive they reckon'd Comets among the wandring Stars, and underſtood their Motions. But *Epigenes*, who likewiſe pretends he ſtudy'd among 'em, and was no way inferior to the other, affirm'd, they determin'd nothing concerning Comets, but believ'd they were ſet a fire by a Whirlwind.

But put the Caſe this Suppoſition were true; I ſay, there's no probability that Comets, and the Bodys which, by altering our Elements, produce Peſtilence, Famines, Tempeſts and Earthquakes, ſhou'd act ſeveral times ſucceſſively by exactly the ſame Advances; becauſe the Diſpoſitions which muſt concur to theſe great Diſorders in the Earth, are in a perpetual Change. We ſee Citys, where Flocks and Herds graz'd heretofore; we ſee only Ruins and Rubbiſh, where once ſtood flou-

* Sen. Quæſt. Nat. l. 6. c. 3.

riſhing

riſhing Towns. Marſhes are drain'd in one part, while the fruitfulleſt Plains lie waſte in another. Foreſts are cut down; the Earth opens in ſome places, and ſwallows up Mountains which once cool'd all the Country round. Whole Rivers are ſuck'd into the Bowels of the Earth, or turn'd into new Channels. The Sea drowns ſome Countrys, and throws up others, as we learn from * *Pliny*, † *Seneca*, || *Pythagoras*, and many Naturaliſts more. I know not, whether we may believe what *Ovid* makes *Pythagoras* ſay, That Rivers have been known to turn Salt; but don't doubt ſome have loſt the Qualitys for which they were famous in antient Times; and that therefore our Travellers are wrong in crying out a Cheat, or a Liar, when their own Experience agrees not with the Teſtimonys of the Antients: And cou'd wiſh Mr. *Guillet* had added this Reflection to his Apology for *Pauſanias* written againſt Mr. *Spon*, who did not find the River *Hales* ſo cold as the antient Naturaliſts wou'd perſuade. 'Twere no leſs juſt perhaps to make the ſame Anſwer to thoſe who pretend they found *Egypt* more favor'd with Rain, than 'tis repreſented in former Days. But this is to be underſtood without prejudice to thoſe who maintain, the Antients did not always form their Accounts on the exacteſt Memoirs.

Be it how it will, it can't be deny'd that the Changes I ſpeak of cauſe a great difference in the Seaſons. And did not this ſufficiently convince us, cou'd we perſiſt againſt general Experience, which never ſhews, during the longeſt Life, two

* Lib. 2. c. 86, 87. † Lib. 2. Natur. Quæſt. c. 26.
|| Apud Ovid. Metam. 15.

Winters or two Summers, two Springs or Falls exactly alike? Is there a Man alive who can pretend he ever ſaw two Solſtices or Equinoxes with the ſame Wind, the ſame Temperature of Air, and the ſame Diſpoſitions in all other reſpects? Can one reaſonably diſpute what * *Solon* affirm'd to *Creſus*, that in the ſpace of ſeventy Years he ne'er had obſerv'd two Days perfectly alike? I don't believe, ſince the World was made, there ever were two Days which reſembl'd in every thing, not only with regard to the whole Earth, but with regard to ſo ſmall a part of it as *France*. How then ſhou'd it be poſſible, that the Cauſes which might have taken up forty Years to prepare a Peſtilence, or a Drought in the Days of *Moſes*, ſhou'd prepare it in forty Years, neither more nor leſs, at this time of day, when the Earth is ſo chang'd from what it then was, that of a hundred particular Cauſes which concur'd in *Moſes*'s Days to infect a Kingdom, perhaps not ten continue the ſame in theſe? Which muſt neceſſarily produce a diverſity in Effects, and put 'em beyond all Rule; conſequently deprive Comets of their indicative Virtue as to the future, on the firſt Suppoſition.

I paſs over the ſecond Suppoſition, as liable to the ſame Difficultys which occur in the other four Hypotheſes.

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* Apud Herodot. l. 1. c. 32.

SECT.

SECT. CCXIII. *A Confirmation of theſe Remarks from the Contingency of Human Actions.*

TO give theſe Reaſons a greater weight, I muſt intreat you, Sir, to obſerve, that 'tis ſtill more impoſſible, the Miſchiefs Men do one another, which in King * *David*'s Judgment are even worſe than Peſtilence or Famine, ſhou'd happen preciſely at the time when the courſe of Nature has furniſh'd Comets, than that the other Evils of Scarcity and Mortality ſhou'd happen with the ſame Regularity; becauſe the Diſorders of a War depend on a thouſand fortuitous Occaſions, and on the Human Will, liable to Paſſions which change ten times a day; whereby no State nor Operation of neceſſary Cauſes can keep a regular pace with what depends on the Will of Man.

How for example wou'd you, by the Laws of Nature, have any relation between the Comet which appear'd in the firſt Year of *Alexander*'s Reign, and the Miſchiefs this Prince's Ambition caus'd in the World? Is it not plain, if Comets ben't miraculouſly form'd, That among the reſt muſt be form'd by a neceſſary Conſequence of the Action of the Heavenly Bodys? And do's it not from hence follow it had appear'd, tho it had been *Alexander*'s Fate to fall ſick and die, or tho he had been kill'd (which was not impoſſible) in the firſt Engagement, or that *Darius* had been as brave as *Cyrus*? Yet had either of the three hapned, much Miſchief might have been preven-

* 2 Kings 24.

ted;

ted; and conſequently this Comet have appear'd, tho the World had ſuffer'd no extraordinary Ravage. There was therefore no neceſſary connection between that Comet and the Evils which enſu'd.

No body but ſees, had *Alexander* fall'n dangerouſly ill on the *4th* day of his march, his Army had ne'er paſs'd the *Helleſpont*; ſo that 'tis only ſuppoſing his Sikneſs turning to a Palſy, to put an end to his Enterprize as ſoon as begun. Had he been kill'd in paſſing the River *Granicus*, there the War had likewiſe ended; his Generals had thought of nothing more than getting back ſafe to their own Homes. Had the King of *Perſia* been a Man of *Cyrus*'s Form, *Alexander* might have grown grey before he cou'd pierce twenty Leagues into his Country: The Paſſage of the *Helleſpont* had coſt him twenty Attacks which wou'd have ruin'd his Army, and put him out of conceit with the Enterprize. So dying without his Conqueſts, he had not left a ſet of Succeſſors to fill the World with Violence, Bloodſhed and Deſolation. You can't but obſerve in Hiſtory, that when two Princes of almoſt equal Power, Courage and Conduct, ingage in a War, they fight ſome ſmart Battels, take and retake Places, weaken their Armys, ruin each in his turn his Enemy's Country. And what follows? why they both grow weary of the War, exhauſt their Treaſures, and ſtrike up a Peace at laſt without any great Advantages of either ſide. This had probably been the Caſe, if *Alexander* and *Cyrus* had liv'd at the ſame time; and what hapned between our *Francis* I. and *Charles* V. When either ſide keeps any thing by the Treaty of Peace, he may well

well be ſaid to buy it too dear, as *Hannibal* juſtly obſerves in his Interview with *Scipio*: * *Happy had it been if the Gods had inſpir'd our Anceſtors with ſuch a Heart, that you might have ſat down content with the Empire of* Italy, *and we with that of* Africk. *For even you who had the advantage in the War, did not find* Sicily *and* Sardinia *an Equivalent for the loſs of ſo many Fleets and Armys, and the Lives of ſo many great Men.*

SECT. CCXIV. *It depends on the leaſt Nicety, that the greateſt Events happen not quite contrary.*

THIS all together is the ground of my ſaying, that the greateſt Events which confound the World, depend on Circumſtances ſo caſual, that 'tis not poſſible the courſe of Nature ſhou'd furniſh any regular Preſages of 'em. So that if the Comet which appear'd in the beginning of *Alexander*'s Reign, preſag'd all the Miſchief he did, either by himſelf or by his Succeſſors, God muſt have form'd it miraculouſly for this end; for once again to elude the Preſages of this Comet, 'twere ſufficient, that *Bucephalus* had rear'd, which he was naturally apt to do, and fall'n over with his Maſter. One flounce of a Horſe, which in other Circumſtances ſignify'd nothing, might have prevented infinite Miſerys brought on the

* Optimum quidem fuerat eam patribus noſtris mentem datam ab Diis eſſe, ut & vos Italiæ & nos Africæ imperio contenti eſſemus. Neque enim ne vobis quidem Sicilia atque Sardinia ſatis digna precia ſunt pro tot claſſibus, tot exercitibus, tot tamque egregiis amiſſis ducibus. *Liv. Dec.* 3. *l.* 10.

World

World by this Prince's Ambition. For to him we muſt reckon all that's Violent and Tragical in the Story of *Lyſimachus*, *Ptolomy*, *Antigonus*, *Demetrius*, *Seleucus*, *Caſſander*, and the reſt of his Succeſſors; becauſe, were it not for him they cou'd have liv'd happily all their Lives on four or five thouſand Pound a Year, and ſome Imployments in *Macedon*: whereas when once they got a taſt of Dominion, by lording it over the Provinces, which fell to each by the Partition, they threw the World into confuſion by turns, in hopes of inlarging their Bounds. To the end then that this Comet ſhou'd preſage all theſe Calamitys, it muſt be ſuppos'd form'd by a Cauſe which foreſaw *Alexander*'s prodigious Ambition, knew he ſhou'd have to deal with an Enemy below him, that no Sickneſs nor Wound ſhou'd ſtop him, *&c.* Beſides, as there needs only one Perſon plac'd in proper Circumſtances to turn the World upſide down; and that the ſecond Cauſes which produce Comets are incapable of chuſing their time, or waiting to produce one, till a *Cyrus*, a *Ceſar*, a *Mahomet*, an *Alexander* is ready to come into the World; it's evident, either that Comets preſage nothing, or that they are not produc'd by ſecond Cauſes, but by God himſelf, who without any regard to the diſpoſitions of Matter, or the activity of ſurrounding Bodys, claps the form of a Comet to a certain portion of Matter (that's for you, Sir, who are a Peripatetick) or gives the ſame Matter ſuch a configuration of Parts, Situation, Conſiſtence and Motion, as are requiſite to denominate a Comet, without applying the Motion already impreſt on Matter, or following the eſtabliſh'd Laws of the communication of Motion:

Motion: (this according to the Principles of Mr. *Deſcartes)* Which ſoever of the two ways God acts, 'tis ſtill a Miracle, properly ſpeaking.

SECT. CCXV. *A way of conceiving Comets to be Preſages without being Miracles.*

LEST you ſhou'd accuſe me of ſparing my ſelf in the Argument, I freely acknowledg I can conceive one way of Comets being evil Preſages, without being miraculouſly form'd. Thus: By ſuppoſing, that whenever ſecond Cauſes produce a Comet, God ſhou'd determine to viſit Mankind. It being once ſuppos'd that God has agreed on ſuch a Signal, it follows, there's a neceſſary Relation between Comets and the Inſtruments of Divine Juſtice, and conſequently that Comets are Preſages of Calamitys. If I had not a clear Anſwer at my fingers ends, your firſt Difficulty might be a victorious Objection.

SECT. CCXVI. *A Confutation of this way.*

BUT I anſwer, that God in this Caſe muſt be ſuppos'd miraculouſly to produce a Plague, a War, a Famine, and what follows; becauſe 'tis not poſſible, as I have already prov'd, that at every time the Celeſtial Bodys produce a Comet, the Terreſtrial ſhou'd be ripe for producing a Mortality, Death, deſtructive War, *&c.* This may ſometimes happen, as it ſometimes happens to hail when a Queen lies in of a Prince. But we can form no general Rule, if we allow ſecond Cauſes to take their Courſe. So that God might not find Diſpoſitions here below for a Peſtilence,

a

a War or Famine, as oft as Nature ſhou'd produce a Comet in the Heavens. He muſt therefore ſend Infections miraculouſly, deſtroy the Harveſts, kindle a Spirit of mercileſs War in the Minds of Men, inſpire Sedition and Schiſm, blow up Fires in the Bowels of the Earth, which ſhattering its nethermoſt Foundations, open a Grave for intire Provinces; or diſcharging by dreadful Eruptions, ſpread Deſtruction and black Deſpair far and wide. But who ſees not how much all this is unworthy the Wiſdom of the Almighty?

I deſire to know in the firſt place, what we gain by denying that God forms Comets in the way of Miracle; ſince by denying this we are conſtrain'd to own, he miraculouſly produces the Evils which follow? Beſides, is it not an Impiety and horrible Blaſphemy, to ſay, God urges Men to Wars and Diviſions, when not diſpos'd enough of themſelves to commit all the Ravages he's pleas'd ſhou'd be annex'd to the Formation of Comets. Farther ſtill, is not this taking out of the Hands of God the Choice of the times, in which the Revolutions of Empires are brought about, and the Puniſhment of national Sins? For 'twere no longer the Wickedneſs of Men, and their Abuſe of the Graces of Heaven, which mov'd God to viſit the Nations of the Earth; but the Conjunction of certain Cauſes, which keeping the ordinary courſe of Nature, preſent Comets on our Horizon. 'Tis well known theſe Cauſes always act in the full Extent of their Virtue, and don't proportion their operative Power to the Progreſs of human Iniquitys. And therefore Comets may as well come out of their hands, when Men begin to repent, as when they are moſt hardned in their Sins; in which caſe God

God muſt be oblig'd to puniſh, not as his Wiſdom ſhou'd judg expedient, but as the courſe of Nature had form'd Comets: for on ſight of theſe Stars, Men, in what ſtate ſoever of moral Life, muſt be overwhelm'd with Calamitys, either by Miracle or otherwiſe. Who ſees not that this is ſubjecting God to prepoſterous Methods, and taking the Moments and Occaſions, which he has peculiarly reſerv'd to himſelf *, out of the hands of his Providence? Who ſees not that this is going directly againſt the Declaration God himſelf † makes to *Abraham*, That he won't, as yet, deliver him the Country of the *Amorites*, becauſe their Iniquity is not come to the height? So, Sir, your ſhorteſt way, if you perſiſt in your Opinion, is to ſay, God forms Comets miraculouſly when he has a purpoſe of puniſhing Mankind, and ſees their Paſſions are likely to make 'em confound the Peace of the World by infinite wicked Courſes. I had reaſon then to maintain, that Comets, if they be Preſages, are miraculouſly form'd.

SECT. CCXVII. Second Anſwer: *That if Comets were Miracles, they'd be of ſuch a kind as God never vouchſafes to Infidels.*

IN Anſwer to the ſecond Difficulty, which is, that my Reaſons prove God can never work Miracles in an Infidel Land; I diſtinguiſh two ſorts of Miracles. One, I may ſay, are ſpeaking Miracles, and expreſly diſtinguiſh the true God from the falſe. The others only ſhew, that there's

* Acts c. 1. v. 7. † Gen. c. 15.

ſome

ſome Being above Man of tranſcendent Power. I ſee no ill Conſequence in maintaining, that God never works Miracles of this laſt kind among Infidels, becauſe they have no Characters on 'em fit to undeceive an Idolater, or likely to inſpire him with any other Thoughts than thoſe of the Power and Awfulneſs of his own Gods, which engages him to adore 'em with greater Ardor. If they have not this Effect, he expreſſes a more ſignal Contempt of what he takes to be the true God than he did before: ſince having new Arguments of his Power or Diſpleaſure, he yet changes nothing in his Conduct. Take him either way, and he aggravates his Sin: for if he improves his falſe Devotion, he multiplys the Number of his idolatrous Tranſgreſſions; if he continues unmov'd and indevout, he's impious in a higher degree. This kind of Miracles therefore ſerving only to render Infidels more wicked, I don't think it conſiſtent with the Goodneſs of God to afford 'em any ſuch, and they ſhou'd rather ſeem to me ſo many Snares: to which I add my former Reaſons. In this kind of Mircales I reckon Comets, Hurricanes, Earthquakes, Meteors, and fearful Prodigys form'd by God alone againſt the Order of Nature.

SECT. CCXVIII. *What kind of Miracles God works among Infidels.*

THE other kind of Miracles comprehends all thoſe which God works by Perſons fill'd with his Holy Spirit, whom he ſends forth to preach his reveal'd Will to Infidels, and convince 'em of the Error of their ways by Notices diſtinct and intelligible. It's agreeable to the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of

of God to work such Miracles as these among Infidels, when he wou'd call 'em to his Knowledg. Accordingly he sends his Servants at these times, to declare to 'em what's fit to be known concerning the Divine Nature, to set before 'em the Vanity of their false Worship, and teach 'em the manner of serving God according to his own Will. But as preaching without Miracles wou'd be of no effect, God endues his Servants with a Power of performing many wonderful Things. At their word the Fire loses its Virtue; Rivers open to the right hand and to the left; the dead came forth from their Graves; the most incurable Diseases are heal'd. These I call speaking Miracles, because they confirm the preaching of an Apostle, and are a most distinct Testimony of the Truth of his Doctrines. They leave no color of Excuse for continuing longer in the Worship of false Gods, because they, who expresly declare, that *Jupiter*'s no God, that the God of the Christians is the only true God, confirm by signal Miracles the Truth of what they preach. There's no room for imagining, that the Gods, whom the Pagans adore, are Authors of these Miracles, because they who work 'em, declare in expres Terms, they are false Gods, whose Temples and Altars are to be immediately destroy'd. These, Sir, are the Miracles which God works among unbelieving Nations; I know no others which are proportion'd to the Facultys of an Idolatrous People.

Won't you allow me, that had the Apostles contented themselves with curing the blind and lame, raising the dead, *&c.* no one cou'd have given the least gues at their Ministry, no one e'er bethought him of examining the Truth of his own Religion,

or believing JESUS CHRIST to be God? All these Miracles had ended in procuring the Apostles a place among the Gods, or making 'em consider'd as Gods come down from Heaven, as happen'd to *Paul* and *Barnabas* * in a City of *Lycaonia*. 'Twas necessary then they shou'd speak out, and declare plainly and intelligibly, by whose Power these Miracles were wrought. I say the same of *Moses*; Had he only wrought Miracles in the Presence of *Pharaoh*, or afflicted his Land with divers Plagues, this King had ne'er understood that the cruel Arts by which he oppress'd the *Israelites*, were displeasing to the Sovereign Lord of the World, or that there was no other God besides the God of the *Hebrews*. Therefore we find the Almighty commanding *Moses* to open his Message to *Pharaoh* in his own Name, and charge him on the part of God to let the *Israelites* go. To confirm his Mission, he gives *Moses* the Power of working Miracles which were astonishing, and transcending all the Illusions of *Pharaoh*'s Magicians; and constrains this Prince to confess there was no God like the God of the *Hebrews*.

This shews Miracles shou'd be accompany'd with Words, and Words with Miracles, when there's a Design of declaring the true God to Infidels: And therefore God employs only Miracles of the first kind in Idolatrous Nations. If they don't produce the desir'd Effect, so much the worse for those who harden themselves like *Pharaoh*; not only as they miss the Benefit of their Conversion, but as they resist a Vocation thoroughly proportion'd to their Facultys, and which therefore leaves 'em without excuse. They see, they hear

* Acts 14.

distinctly

distinctly what God requires at their Hands; whereas they may say of a Comet miraculously form'd, that it did not declare to them whether *Jupiter*, *Diana*, *Mercury*, or the God of the *Hebrews* sent it; nor distinguish which of all these was the only true God.

Sect. CCXIX. Third Answer: *That God's proposing to make himself known for the true God by the means of Comets, is a false Notion.*

IN answer to the third Difficulty, I can't, I assure you, Sir, comprehend, how God, by setting Comets a blaze over an Idolatrous People, shou'd propose to convince 'em of his being the only true God; and that *Jupiter* and the other Divinitys are only Wood and Stone. For let's suppose one a thorow Idolater, tho otherwise a Man of Sense and Learning, and sound Judgment: Make him reason as long as you please on the appearance of a Comet; lead him thro all the Reflections which may probably arise in his Thoughts on the sight of such a Star: I defy you to find a Train of Consequences, which shall enable him to discover that the God of *Israel*, or the God of the Christians, is the only true God, and that the Gods whom he adores are all false.

I own, if his Thoughts on the Comet led him to consider the Works of Creation, he might arrive at the Knowledg of a Being infinitely Wise and Powerful, supposing he makes a right use of his Facultys. I'm persuaded there's no such thing as an invincible Ignorance of a first Cause, which governs the World. I join with the *Psalmist*,

* that the Heavens, dumb as they are, ſet forth the Glory of God from one end of the Earth to the other, by the wonderful Symmetry of their Parts, and Regularity of their Motions. I acknowledg with St. *Paul* †, that the inviſible Things of God are made viſible in the Creation of the World, to thoſe who contemplate his Works. But I ſay at the ſame time, that this Idolater, did he raiſe himſelf by this means to the knowledg of God, wou'd not owe the Obligation to the Comet; becauſe not mov'd to aſcribe more Power and Majeſty to his *Jupiter* on account of the Comet, but on account of the Beauty of the whole Creation. Every other Object may furniſh him an occaſion of reaſoning on the Structure of the World, as well as the Comet. He need only conſider the Sun, or one of thoſe Phenomena, which as being more uncommon awaken the Attention more, to make as great a progreſs in this Knowledg, as he might by conſidering a Comet. I ſay then, that a Comet not being in its own nature qualify'd to lead us to the knowledg of the true God; being not peculiarly adapted to convey this Secret to the human Mind; being infinitely leſs proper for this purpoſe than the Frame of Nature at large, there's no ground to think God ſhou'd propoſe to reveal himſelf this way, and work Miracles of ſuch a nature with ſuch a Deſign.

* Pſal. 19. † Rom. 1.

SECT. CCXX. *The ſight of a Comet renders us not more capable of knowing the Nature of God.*

LET's do our ſelves right, Sir: Do we perceive any particular Talent in the Faculty's of our Soul, by which we find our ſelves enabl'd to make new Diſcovery's of the Divine Nature, on the firſt appearance of a Comet? Let's ſpeak ſincerely, and own as to that Point, we are juſt where we were before; it's truly a Phenomenon which perplexes all the World. The Philoſophers can't exactly tell us how 'tis form'd; the Aſtronomers admire its Motion and Magnitude, much more than they can account for either; the reſt of Mankind dread it as a Preſage of their ruin: But do's this make 'em underſtand the Divine Nature a jot the more? No. The Philoſopher is fully perſuaded without this Example, that the Works of God are wonderful, ſurpaſſing all the Powers of our Underſtanding. There's no occaſion of Miracles, to form his Faculty's for the perception of this Truth. He needs only apply his Inquiry's to the nature of the leaſt Fly, or the leaſt blade of Graſs, to perceive there's more Myſtery in theſe than Natural Philoſophy ſhall ever unfold. The Aſtronomer was alſo convinc'd without the aſſiſtance of the Comet, that the Motions of the Heavens are wonderful. They who are alarm'd at Comets, knew perfectly well before, that God abhors Sin, and brings Offenders to Judgment. So that after ſeeing a Comet every night for months together, it happens we all know the Divine Nature neither more nor leſs than before,

and yet don't therefore think our selves a jot the more blamable. If our Conscience reproaches on any account, 'tis only that we had not reform'd our Ways. Now if Christians learn nothing new touching the Nature of God by the sight of Comets; Why wou'd you, Sir, have the Pagans oblig'd to learn more than they? If we who are Christians may with Impunity keep at a stand as to Knowledg, provided we continually improve in the Divine Love; how can you imagine God shou'd exact degrees of Knowledg from the Pagans, after the appearance of a Comet, greater than they were possest of before?

SECT. CCXXI. *Some of the Pagan Nations admitted no strange Religion.*

FOR my part, I vow I can't conceive it. I can't see that a Pagan Philosopher, who apply'd himself to the study of Nature, without having ever call'd the Divinity of *Jupiter* or *Mars* in question, was in such a fair way of being converted by the sight of a Comet: For how shou'd this Phenomenon put him in mind of looking out for a new God, seeing he had not been led into this search by a contemplation of the whole World? If *Jupiter* is Lord of the Universe, if he reigns in Heaven, if the Stars depend on him; why shou'd not a Comet likewise depend on him? But the Comet threatens the Divine Vengeance. Be it so: Do's it therefore follow, *Jupiter* and *Saturn* must be depos'd? Quite contrary; it follows, a Pagan who keeps to his Principles, shou'd honor these Gods with greater Zeal than he did before. The sight of the Comet leads him to this by a natural

tural Conſequence. Each Nation looks on it as a Preſage of its own Calamity: Each believes, that Good and Evil is diſpens'd by their Gods; that to prevent impending Calamitys, they muſt appeaſe their own Gods, and not thoſe of other Nations: Conſequently, Comets prompted every Nation and People to pay Honors to their own Gods; and far from ſuggeſting a Thought of changing 'em, rather put certain Nations on aboliſhing whatever ſtrange Ceremonys might have crept into the publick Worſhip; for ſome Idolatrous Nations abhor'd Mixtures of this ſort as a kind of Sacrilege. * *Anacharſis* on his return to *Scythia*, was ſlain by his own Brother the King of the *Scythians*, for preſuming to ſacrifice after the manner of the *Greeks*: Some † will have it that *Anacharſis* himſelf was the Zealot, and that he ſlew another *Scythian*, who attempted on his return from *Greece* to introduce the Myſterys of the Mother of the Gods after the *Greek* Form; which is probably a miſtake of *Clemens Alexandrinus*. The *Romans*, who often adopted and added new Divinitys to their old, eſpecially in publick Calamitys, were much fall'n in this Point from their antient Diſcipline, which forbid all ſtrange Worſhips; as appears from the Sequel of a Paſſage ‖ already cited from *Livy*; and by another Paſſage ** in the ninth Book of his 4*th* Decad.

* Herodot. l. 4. Diog. Laert. in Anach. † Clem. Alex. in Protrep. ad Græcos. ‖ *Before*, *Sect.* 209. ** Quoties hoc Patrum Avorumque ætate Negotium eſt Magiſtratibus datum, ut ſacra externa fieri vetarent? Sacrificulos, vateſque foro, circo, urbe

SECT. CCXXII. *A ſhort Repreſentation of the Inferences from the preceding Remarks.*

TAKE it by which handle you will, I don't ſee how the appearance of a Comet ſhou'd be able to change a People's Belief concerning the Gods, or the Ceremonys of the Eſtabliſh'd Religion, in any other reſpect, than perhaps the addition of ſome new Superſtitions in certain Countrys: Therefore I ſtill come to this, that Comets had been on one hand very uſeleſs Miracles, and on another very favorable to Idolatry; and on the whole, that 'twere inconſiſtent with the Wiſdom of God to make uſe of Means for the converſion of Pagans, which not only never did convert 'em, but were even improper for this end. Whence it follows, 'tis falſe that God had a particular and more formal Deſign of making himſelf known for the true God by the means of Comets, than by his other Works of Creation. And this being the Caſe, my Poſition is ſtill true, That had God miraculouſly form'd Comets in the days when Paganiſm over-ſpread the World, his Purpoſe had been to reinflame the Zeal of Idolatrous Nations, each for its own Religion, all the World over. Now as this can't be offer'd without Impiety, it remains, that Comets are Works purely natural, and which preſage nothing.

urbe prohiberent? Vaticinos libros conquirerent, comburerentque? Omnem diſciplinam Sacrificandi præterquam more Romano abolerent? Judicabant enim prudentiſſimi viri omnis Divini humanique nihil æque diſſolvendæ Religionis eſſe, quam ubi non patrio ſed externo ritu ſacrificaretur.

SECT.

SECT. CCXXIII. *Whether we may safely deny God's doing a thing, when we can't perceive it's of any use.*

HERE methinks you stop me short, to tell me, it's a Temerity highly punishable in such a one as I, to deny God's doing any thing, because the short Line of my Reason can't discover all its wholesom Uses, but sees on the contrary several grand Abuses springing from it. On this occasion I think proper to declare, that I'm intirely convinc'd God do's nothing which is not agreeable to infinite Wisdom. To know God do's any thing, is a sufficient ground to prevent all my Doubts of its being done on the perfectest right Reason. I inquire no farther; and whether my Lights discover its Usefulness or no, it's all one, still I believe the Work most worthy of the Infinite Majesty of God. So that cou'd it be demonstrated by necessary Reasons, or by any infallible Authority, that God forms Comets miraculously as Signs of his Displeasure, I shou'd rest intirely satisfy'd; tho nothing in my Judgment cou'd appear more contrary to the Interests of the true God, or more favorable to those of the False, than Miracles of this nature.

But we're not on such a foot. The Question between us is, whether Comets be Signs vouchsaf'd by God or no. We have no Authority assuring us they are; it's our part then to settle an Opinion from the Inquirys of right Reason: and nothing hinders, but among other Arguments on this Head, we may employ those drawn from the Wisdom, Justice and Holiness of God, to make the

the Negative take place, if we find the Affirmative inconsistent with these Divine Attributes.

Our Schools of Theology, as well as those of Philosophy, teach us not to multiply Beings or Miracles without a Necessity; and thereby authorize us to reject all needless Suppositions, even tho attended with no ill Consequences. On this Maxim we must never have recourse to Miracle, when we may explain by natural Reasons; nor say that God interposes in an extraordinary manner to the production of an Effect, if his Interposition appear absolutely unnecessary, or even repugnant to his Holiness. The Poets are justly ridicul'd; *Homer* in the first place, for bringing in the Gods at every turn, and imploying 'em, against all Rules of good Sense, to unravel their little Plots *. Much more might we be in fault, if without a just occasion we refer'd things to the extraordinary Power of God, which we see may be produc'd by the ordinary course of Nature. When 'tis a Matter well attested that a Miracle's wrought any where, 'tis ridiculous cavilling, on pretence we can't see the usefulness of the Miracle, or on the contrary may see Abuses likely to arise from it: but the Cavil ceases, where there are only ill-grounded Surmises of the truth of the Miracle.

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* Nec Deus interfit nisi dignus vindice nodus.
Horat. Art. Poet.

SECT. CCXXIV. *A Reflection on the Maxim of the Pretor* Caſſius, cui bono.

CICERO ſpeaks honorably of a Pretor call'd *Caſſius*, who in criminal Actions us'd to ask the Accuſer when his Proofs were lame, What Motive of Intereſt had induc'd the Accus'd to commit the Crime in queſtion; ſuppoſing very rationally, that Men won't commit Crimes for nothing, and that a Judg ought not, except on a full Evidence, to condemn a Man who is charg'd with Crimes of no profit to him. But 'twere ridiculous, on this Maxim, to require the *cui bono* of an Accuſer, who had fully prov'd his Charge; this ought to take place only in doubtful Caſes. Shou'd I ſee a Man commit a Murder before my face, People might tell me as long as they pleas'd, the Murderer muſt ruin his Intereſt by ſuch an Action, and muſt ſee he ſhou'd ruin himſelf; I ſhou'd not disbelieve my Senſes for all this, but rather believe Men acted ſometimes againſt their own Intereſt, than think him innocent whom I ſaw commit the Murder. In like manner, when we are certain God do's ſuch or ſuch a thing, 'tis Blaſphemy to ſay it's uſeleſs; God has his own Reaſons. But on the other hand, let's take up the Maxim, *cui bono*, when Men, without a ſhadow of Reaſon, won'd perſuade us to believe any miraculous Fact.

SECT.

SECT. CCXXV. *A Reflection on the manner of accounting for the hardneſs of* Pharaoh's *Heart.*

TO juſtify my ſelf, by ſomething of more weight with you, Sir, who are a Divine, I deſire you to remember, that the Fathers and Councils have given theſe words of Scripture, *I will harden* Pharaoh's *Heart*, an Interpretation vaſtly different from the literal; and this, becauſe it's manifeſt the literal Senſe is repugnant to the Divine Perfections. For who ſees not, that had Almighty God, after ſending *Pharaoh* an expreſs Command by his Servant *Moſes*, to let the Children of *Iſrael* depart; and after having by inconteſtable Proofs demonſtrated himſelf the Sovereign Lord of Heaven and Earth, by a poſitive Act harden'd this Prince's Heart, on purpoſe to hinder his obeying *Moſes*'s Meſſage, and to find an occaſion of manifeſting his Power over an obſtinate King; ſuch a Conduct were highly inconſiſtent with the Notions of Sincerity, Juſtice, and Holineſs? Yet had we an expreſs Revelation aſſerting, 'twas the Intention of the Holy Spirit theſe words ſhou'd be underſtood in the ſtrictneſs of the Letter, the Church wou'd not fail paying it a due Deference, by ſilencing the Voice of Reaſon, and by repreſenting, that ſince God, who is the Rule and Fountain of Juſtice, declares, he has in the ſtricteſt ſenſe harden'd the Heart of *Pharaoh*; this Obduration is an Act which wounds neither his Juſtice, nor Holineſs, nor Sincerity.

To

To apply this to the present Dispute; I say, since there's no evident Reason, nor Revelation informing us that God has produc'd Comets to be Signs of his Judgments in the World, we are oblig'd to reject the Opinion as false, for this Reason, That God works no such Miracles as are not only useless in themselves, but even repugnant to his Sincerity, Holiness, and Justice.

For if in the Judgment of the Church, all Interpretation of Scripture, which ascribes Actions to God manifestly repugnant to our Ideas of his Perfections, be false; if it's not to be slur'd on us by saying, God has Prerogatives we know nothing of, and which are reconcilable to his other Perfections, tho we can't tell how, such for example as that of hardning *Pharaoh*'s Heart in the strictest sense: If, I say, the Case be so, we may safely insist that all Miracles manifestly repugnant to our Ideas of the Divine Perfections, are false, without regard, so long as we are unconvinc'd of the Fact, to any secret Ends or incomprehensible Prerogatives of the Divine Being: For an Obligation to such Reserves wou'd reduce Men to the strangest state of Pyrrhonism that ever was.

So, Sir, till such time as you convince me that Comets have been no occasion of Idolatry, nor a Snare spread for Sinners all the World over, I shall continue to believe that God did not form 'em miraculously to denounce his Anger.

SECT.

SECT. CCXXVI. Fourth Anſwer: *'Tis falſe that the Gentiles were render'd inexcuſable, in not being converted to the true God by the ſight of Comets.*

I Come now to the fourth Difficulty, which is nothing, after what I have offer'd in anſwer to the third. For ſince I have ſhewn that Idolaters cou'd ne'er, by the help of Comets, diſcover any new Perfection in the Divine Nature, nor any thing more than that the Gods declaring themſelves affronted, threaten'd Mankind; 'tis plain, the Sacrifices, Prayers, and other Honors paid to their falſe Divinitys, with new redoubl'd Zeal, cou'd not be conſtru'd an Abuſe of that particular Grace, which 'tis pretended God afforded 'em by theſe Significations of his Anger. I have fully ſhewn, Comets were not Miracles proportion'd to the reaſonable Facultys of Pagans, or ſufficient to explode their Prejudices. The Scriptures conſtantly inform us, that whenever God deſign'd, the Nations which border'd on his People, ſhou'd underſtand that the God of *Iſrael* was the only true God, he made uſe of Miracles, which clearly reveal'd this, and diſtinguiſh'd him from all other Gods: Whereas Comets at beſt import only the Wrath of Heaven, which each Nation muſt reaſonably refer to the Gods they ador'd.

We know, beſides, that when the time was come in which God thought fit to manifeſt himſelf to thoſe who were Strangers to his Name, he took care to have his Word declar'd among 'em by Perſons carrying the moſt viſible Characters of

of a Divine Miſſion, in the Gift of Miracles, and the bright ſhining of the higheſt Vertues; ſo as none but the wilfully blind cou'd remain in Ignorance. Yet how many Ages were found neceſſary, how many Martyrs, how many Miracles to deſtroy Idolatry? If the Blindneſs of Men was not to be cur'd without Revelation, ſupported by infinite Miracles; and if Paganiſm was not to be born down by ſuch a Power without a ſtruggle of three or four hundred Years; what probability is there, that God ſhou'd think to frighten away all the falſe Gods of the Heathens with the blaze of a Comet? Had he only will'd this, he had done it. But the purpoſe of Providence was to convert the Gentiles by the preaching of the Goſpel, and not by a dumb Fire, which naturally cou'd inſpire only a Senſe of Fear.

Sect. CCXXVII. *Comets incapable of bringing Men to the Knowledg of the true God.*

NOW if God deſign'd not to accompliſh the Converſion of Infidels by the means of Comets, it follows, he only deſign'd they ſhou'd underſtand that Mankind was in a fair way of being viſited for their Sins, unleſs they prevented their Puniſhment by the Exerciſes of Religion. And if this be the caſe, how can you accuſe the Pagans, who ſtir'd up their Zeal on all theſe Signals, of ſlighting the Warnings of Heaven in an inexcuſable manner? Did not they act according to their beſt Knowledg, and do all cou'd be reaſonably expected from 'em? Did not they offer the Sacrifices their Religion enjoin'd, with all the Ceremonys they judg'd moſt proper for aſſuaging the Wrath

Wrath of Heaven? Cou'd they read in the Countenance of a Comet, that this was not the way of appeaſing God; and that from the farthermoſt Parts of *China*, for example, 'twas neceſſary to poſt away to *Jeruſalem*, turn *Jew*, and offer propitiatory Sacrifices according to the Law of *Moſes*, to prevent their ruin? This therefore is not what will render 'em inexcuſable, but the not making a right uſe of their Reaſon tow'rds a diſcovery of the true God, from the Beauty, and Order, and mighty Power, ſo conſpicuous in all the Parts of the Univerſe. Their not diſcerning the Finger of God in a Comet, is nothing in compariſon of their overlooking it in the whole Machine of the World. And as one ſhou'd never call a Man ſtupid for not acknowledging the Magnificence of a Prince, upon ſeeing only one of his Pages, if he was not ſtruck with the ſight of his whole Court, his Treaſures, his Furniture, and Palaces: So Idolaters ſhall ne'er be charg'd with Folly, for continuing ignorant of the true God, on the appearance of a Comet, but for not acknowledging him in the Contemplation of all his Works together, which render him ſo conſpicuous *. I don't deprive Comets of their due Rank, among the things which ſhew forth the Greatneſs and Glory of God, as Showers and fruitful Seaſons, Meteors and Planets: Yet I can't believe a ſpecial Proceſs will iſſue againſt Idolaters, for judging Comets a mark of the Wrath of their own Gods, rather than that of the God of the *Jews*; and leſs can I perſuade my ſelf, that God in the State wherein he ſaw the Gentiles, gave

* Tantis operibus notitiam ſuam armavit. *Tertull.*

Signs

Signs and Miracles, signifying only the Wrath of Heaven in general, and driving 'em in consequence hereof to all kind of Abomination.

SECT. CCXXVIII. 3d Objection: *Comets are a natural Effect, and the natural Cause of the Calamitys which attend 'em.*

I Foresee, Sir, that your Zeal for the inseparable Rights of Holiness and Goodness in God, which allow not his contributing by signal Miracles to rivet Men in an Idolatrous Worship, will put you upon maintaining, that Comets are natural Causes of the Calamitys which attend 'em; and that 'tis in virtue of an Original Law, that Comets are sometimes form'd, which o'course occasion a thousand Mischiefs; as 'tis by an Order purely natural, that Tempests are sometimes rais'd at Sea, which cause as many Shipwracks.

SECT. CCXXIX. Answer: *That 'tis impossible Comets shou'd be the efficient Cause of the Calamitys they are suppos'd to presage.*

THUS I own you'l clear the Divine Providence, because whatever ill use Men may make of the Effects of Nature, God is never the more oblig'd to change the Course of second Causes: And if they are startled at seeing a Whelp with two Heads, if on such an occasion they sacrifice to *Diana* or *Proserpina*, the blame lies wholly at their own door; God, who varys not herein from the Laws for producing the true Species, requires nothing particular at their hands.

SECT. CCXXX. *Nothing is more worthy the Greatneſs of God, than maintaining the general Laws.*

THIS Circumſtance, *That Monſters are purely the Effects of a general Providence*, deprives thoſe of all ſhadow of Excuſe, who commit Acts of Idolatry on the ſight of a monſtrous Production. For 'twere impertinent and extreme ſilly to ſay, that God, who foreſaw that the Birth of Monſters might prompt Men to Idolatry, ſhou'd have prevented it; becauſe nothing were more unworthy of a general Cauſe, which puts all others in action by a ſimple and uniform Law, than violating this Law at every turn, to prevent the Surmizes and Superſtitions which weak and ignorant Men may run into. Nothing gives a higher Idea of a Prince than ſeeing him, when once he has enacted wholeſom Laws, maintain 'em with vigor towards all and againſt all, without allowing the leaſt Reſtriction on the intereſted Recommendations of a Favorite, or out of regard to any particular Perſon. And of all the things apt to throw a State into utter Confuſion, that which compaſſes the Point moſt effectually, is undoubtedly the diſpenſing with eſtabliſh'd Laws, changing, clipping, ſtretching and cramping 'em, according as the private Views of Perſons or Partys find their account in ſuch Alterations. You muſt needs have read how the * Congregation of Cardinals and Biſhops, which drew up the Project of Reforma-

* *See Father* Paul's *Hiſt. Conc.* Trent, l. 1. ad An. 1537.

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tion a little before the Council of *Trent*, repreſented to *Paul* III. That the Facility of the Popes his Predeceſſors, in hearkning to the Counſels of Flattery, and departing from the Canons, was the great Source from which, as from the *Trojan* Horſe, all thoſe Abuſes ſprung which laid the Church waſt. A Remonſtrance was giv'n in to Pope *Innocent* V. ſome Ages before, That the *Non obſtantibus* by which all the Laws were diſpens'd with, was a Deluge of Inconſtancy, a Breach of Faith, and an Obſtacle to the Tranquillity of Chriſtendom. 'Tis manifeſt beſides, that the neceſſity a Legiſlature is under of mending its Laws by Explanations, Interpretations, Inſertions of Clauſes, and ſometimes a downright Repeal, ſuppoſes a narrowneſs of Underſtanding, incapable of foreſeeing the Inconveniences which muſt ariſe in the Execution of theſe Laws. The longer a Law ſubſiſts without Alteration, the more it diſcovers the great Capacity, and diſtant Views of the Legiſlator; whence that Saying of the *Italians* to expreſs a conſummate Prudence, *Capo da far Statuti.*

SECT. CCXXXI. *A Reflection on the Unreaſonableneſs of thoſe who murmur at the Proſperity of the Wicked.*

HEreupon I ſhall make no ſcruple to ſay, that they who are ſtagger'd at the Proſperity of the Wicked, have very little meditated on the Nature of God, and that they contract the Adminiſtration of a Cauſe which governs the Univerſe, to the Size of a Providence purely Subaltern; which betrays a Littleneſs of Mind. What!

wou'd they have Almighty God, after he has created ſome Cauſes free, and others neceſſary, by an Intermixture admirably fitted for manifeſting the Wonders of his infinite Wiſdom, eſtabliſh Laws agreeable to the Nature of thoſe free Cauſes; yet ſo little fix'd, that the firſt Fit of Spleen or ill Humor in any one, might intirely ſubvert 'em to the deſtruction of human Liberty in general? The Governor of a ſmall Town muſt expoſe himſelf to contempt, if he chang'd his Rules and Orders, as often as any of the Corporation thought fit to grumble: And ſhall God, whoſe Laws are calculated for ſo general a Deſign, that perhaps what we ſee of the Univerſe is only an Underplot in the great Action, be oblig'd to derogate from theſe Laws, becauſe they don't hit one Man's fancy to day, and another's to morrow; becauſe at one time a ſuperſtitious Votary, falſly imagining that a Monſter preſages a Reverſe in human Affairs, paſſes from his erroneous Opinion to the offering a wicked Sacrifice; at another time, a good Soul perhaps, but which do's not prize Vertue ſo much as to think the want of it its own Puniſhment, is offended to ſee a wicked Man grow Rich, and enjoy a good State of Health? Is it poſſible to form a falſer Idea of a general Providence? And ſince all are agreed, this Law of Nature, *The Strong ſhall prevail o'er the Weak*, is wiſely ordain'd, and that 'twere ridiculous to expect when a Stone hits and breaks a Looking-glaſs, which was the Owner's delight, God ſhou'd diſpenſe with his Laws to ſpare the Man ſuch an Affliction; muſt not we allow it's equally ridiculous to expect God ſhou'd diſpenſe with the ſame Law, to prevent a Villain's enriching himſelf by

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the Spoils of an honest Man? The more a Villain sets himself above the Rules of Honor and Conscience, the more he surpasses an honest Man in Power; so that if he takes this good Man in hand, he must by the Course of Nature ruin him: And if both be employ'd in the Customs or Excise, the wicked Man must by the same Course of Nature grow much richer than the Man of Conscience, as surely as a fierce Fire shall consume more Fuel than dying Embers. They who wou'd have the wicked Man always sickly, are sometimes as unreasonable as they who wou'd have a Stone hit a Glass without breaking it; for as his Organs are form'd, neither the Nourishment he takes in, nor the Air he breathes, are capable of doing the least prejudice to his Health. So that they who murmur at his good Complexion, find fault with God's not violating establish'd Laws: Wherein they are so much the more unreasonable, that by a Combination and Chain of Effects, which only infinite Wisdom is capable of ordering, it often happens that the ordinary Course of Nature brings on the Chastisement of Sinners.

SECT. CCXXXII. *The Difference between Miracles and Natural Effects, with respect to us.*

THE Design of all this is only, Sir, to shew you, that tho Men abuse the Blessings of Nature to wicked Purposes, either thro Weakness or Malice, yet God may, without derogating in the least from his Wisdom, Justice or Goodness, inviolably maintain the Course of natural Laws. If he sometime suspend 'em in favor of Man, 'tis

pure Grace, pure Mercy. But the Caſe is not the ſame with reſpect to Miracles; for as theſe are an interruption of the Order which God has eſtabliſh'd in Nature, our Reaſon conceives not how he ſhou'd work Miracles, when he foreſees they are likely to draw Men into the Snare of Idolatry. Common Senſe leads to this Thought; that God do's no Violence to ſecond Cauſes, unleſs to manifeſt his Glory in the Salvation of thoſe who are converted, and the juſt Puniſhment of thoſe who reject ſuch Marks of his extraordinary Grace. It looks as if he never had recourſe to Miracles, but from an Exceſs of Love for us, moving him to the uſe of Means, much more affecting with regard to Men than all his Works of Nature, or all his ordinary Providences; and only when he ſees that theſe are not of ſufficient Efficacy to uphold their Faith, and reſcue 'em from Perdition. Beſides, 'tis God alone who works every Miracle, without regard to the Demand or Diſpoſition of ſecond Cauſes: Nothing determines him here, as in natural Effects, to produce thoſe of one kind rather than another. It ſeems then, I. That his Goodneſs ſhou'd ever move him to chuſe ſuch as are fitteſt to confirm the Truth, and confound Falſhood; that Men who are not converted by theſe means, might only blame the hardneſs of their own Heart. II. That his Holineſs ſhou'd never ſuffer him to make choice of ſuch Miracles as are infinitely more likely to favor Idolatry than the true Religion; to excuſe Sinners, than render 'em inexcuſable.

SECT. CCXXXIII. *That the Characters of true Miracles belong not to Comets.*

I Find the first Character in the Miracles of *Moses*, of CHRIST, and his Apostles, *&c.* and the second in Comets; because, as has been observ'd, the natural and rightful Effect of Comets, supposing God had form'd 'em by an extraordinary Power to intimidate the Earth, must be engaging the *Jews* to a stricter Obedience of the Law of *Moses*, and all the Nations of the World beside to more Zeal in the abominable Worship of their false Gods: So that a Comet, for one Act of true Piety, must always produce a thousand Acts of Idolatry. Let no one pretend that the Comet's proper Effect was, the converting Pagans to the true Religion; for once more I insist, this was the business of another sort of Miracles: The Comet was to introduce no change in the ordinary Religion, nor make Men comprehend any more, than just that the God each People ador'd was displeas'd, and that 'twas necessary to appease by the vigorous Practice of all the Ceremonys in vogue, or by establishing perhaps some new Feast in honor of the Divinity.

As to the Plea of Excuse herein, 'tis notoriously evident. For if God miraculously produces Comets to warn Men, that unless they appease his Wrath, he purposes to afflict 'em with dreadful Calamitys; all those Nations, who at the sight of Comets have redoubled their Devotions, have prostrated themselves at the Feet of the Altars, have shed the Blood of infinite Victims, have rais'd and dedicated new Temples: All these, I say,

have answer'd the Intention of God as much as cou'd be expected at their hands. And when the Question shall be ask'd 'em, Why this profusion of Sacrifices? they may answer, Because Heaven signify'd by extraordinary Blazes, 'twas expected we shou'd be more Devout than ordinary.

SECT. CCXXXIV. *Whether God dispens'd Good and Evil to the Pagans, with a Design of converting 'em.*

I Must desire you, Sir, to have a special regard to the Distinction I make between Effects of Nature, and the miraculous Works of God; for on this depends the Solution of a Difficulty, which naturally presents, against the Doctrine I have advanc'd. There's no one who is not capable of objecting, It follows from my Doctrine, that God cou'd never awaken Idolaters by the Scourges of his Wrath, nor afford 'em any Marks of his Bounty: because if they'l believe me, the Blessings and Curses of God were only capable of rendring Infidels more impious, or more superstitious; more impious if they quickned not their Zeal for the false Gods; and more superstitious if they did. 'Tis notwithstanding most true, that God has in all Ages made Idolaters feel the Effects of his Indignation, and often expos'd 'em to Pestilence, War and Famine, as the just Punishments of their Sins. It farther appears from the express Declaration of St. *Paul**, That *He left not himself without witness, in that he did good, and gave us Rain from Heaven and fruitful Seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness*; and that Men ought to have

* Acts 14. 17.

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consider'd, * *That the Goodness of God leadeth them to Repentance.*

Here's undoubtedly an Objection which opens a large Field for Reasoning: I freely quit it to those who have a mind to shew themselves, and expect you'l not lose such an opportunity of signalizing your profound Skill in Theology. Mean time I content my self with laying down this Position, That all the Good or Evil which God dispens'd to the Pagans, was in the Order of his General Providence, and an uninterrupted Consequence of the Laws of the Communication of Motion. If you've read *P. Malebranche*'s late Treatise of *Nature and Grace*, you must have seen that the Events which spring from the Execution of the general Laws of Nature, are not the Object of any particular Will in God. Whence it follows, that God afflicted not the antient Pagans with War or Pestilence by a particular Dispensation, but only as they offer'd from a Consequence of the general Laws. I'm aware, that when one wills a thing, he wills also whatever is necessarily annex'd to it; and consequently, that God cou'd not will the general Laws, without willing every particular Effect which must necessarily spring from 'em. This I know, Sir; but I know too there are some things which we will, not for their own sake, but purely because annex'd to some others; in which Case it may justly be said, we don't will 'em by a direct and particular Will. If it be lawful to make a Judgment of the Ways of God, we may assert, he do's not will all Events on the account of their own intrinsick Perfection,

* Rom. 2. 4.

but

but as they depend on the general Laws which he has choſen for the Rule of his Operations. No queſtion, when God determin'd to act from without, he made choice of a Rule to act by, worthy a Being of abſolute Perfection; that's to ſay, a Rule infinitely ſimple and uniform, yet infinitely copious. One may even ſuppoſe, that the Simplicity and Uniformity of one manner of Acting, joyn'd to an infinite Fecundity, appear'd preferable in his ſight (tho ſome ſuperfluous Events might reſult from it) to a more compounded and regular manner of acting. Nothing's more uſeful than this Suppoſition, for reſolving a thouſand Difficultys rais'd againſt a Divine Providence; for which reaſon we ſhou'd not preſume to condemn, without profoundly examining it all together. Now from this Principle it follows, that God will'd not each Event in particular, only as comprehended in the general Plan he had laid down; and conſequently form'd no particular Decree for the deſolating an Idolatrous People by Peſtilence or Famine. And therefore it's wrong to ask why God was the Author of Events, which render'd Men more ſinful: becauſe this is asking why God purſu'd his general Plan (which muſt needs be infinitely beautiful) by Methods the moſt ſimple and uniform; and why by a Complication of Decrees, which muſt continually thwart and claſh with one another, he did not prevent the ill uſe of Man's free Will. But this Queſtion takes place, on a ſuppoſition, that the Peſtilence and Famine are produc'd by a Miracle, becauſe in Miracles God manifeſts a particular Will. One may reaſonably ask, how it's poſſible God ſhou'd have a particular Will? the reſult of which cou'd only

only be the rendring Men more guilty; and may even maintain, 'tis impoſſible he ſhou'd form Decrees of this nature. You ſee then, Sir, that Miracles being particular Volitions in God, ought to have an End worthy the Divine Nature; that's to ſay, ought to lead ſo clearly and diſtinctly to the Knowledg of the true God, that there ſhou'd be no room to doubt whether *Jupiter* were the proper Author of 'em, or the great Creator of Heaven and Earth. Whence it appears, there's a vaſt difference between thoſe who ſay God ſurprizes Men by miraculous Signs, and thoſe who ſay he ſurprizes and chaſtizes 'em by the natural Action of Bodys. One or other will certainly write againſt *P. Malebranche*, and oblige him to give a farther Explication of his new Syſtem, which, in my Opinion, may anſwer very uſeful Purpoſes.

As to thoſe Paſſages in St. *Paul* which import, that all the Nations of the World, and in all Ages, ſhar'd in the Effects of God's Bounty, *&c.* I ſay, nothing's more true; the Laws of Nature, tho exceeding ſimple, as I juſt obſerv'd, being yet ſo fruitful, that they produce a thouſand Bleſſings, and every where leave Footſteps of a Cauſe ſovereignly Perfect. So that there's juſt ground to condemn thoſe who made not a thorow uſe of their Reaſon for coming to the Knowledg of the true God, from the viſible Creation. But as the Scriptures never charge thoſe with Folly who perceiv'd not God in a Comet, 'tis idle inſiſting on theſe Stars in particular, or making 'em extraordinary Significations of the Divine Will.

SECT. CCXXXV. *New Remarks drawn from the fortuitous Viciſſitude of human Affairs, to prove that Comets are not the Cauſe of ſucceeding Evils.*

YOu'l do well then, Sir, to maintain that Comets preſage in quality of Cauſes: But if by this means you clear the Methods of Providence, you'l not ſo eaſily get your ſelf out of the Briars.

For not to repeat all I have ſaid already concerning the Liberty of Man's Will, and which alone is ſufficient to decide the Queſtion between us, how is't poſſible a Comet ſhou'd be the Cauſe of thoſe Wars ſtir'd up in the World a Year or two after its diſappearance? How wou'd you have Comets the Cauſe of that prodigious diverſity of Events which offer in the Courſe of a long War? Don't we know the intercepting of a Letter ſometimes breaks the Meaſures of a whole Campagn; That the Execution of a ſingle Order an hour too late, deſtroys a hundred Deſigns form'd on one another; That the Death of one Man changes the whole Face of Affairs; and that it's ſometimes owing to the moſt fortuitous Nicety in the World, that a Battel was not gain'd, the loſs of which is attended with infinite Diſaſters? How wou'd you have the Atoms of a Comet dancing about in the Air, perform ſuch Wonders? Muſt not each of 'em have a particular Intelligence to guide it, and each Intelligence act in concert with the reſt; to the end, for example, that on advice of Cardinal *Richelieu*'s Death,

or

or the Duke of *Bavaria*'s diſaffection to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, Orders be diſtributed to all the Atoms in the North Quarter, to act quite otherwiſe than they did before on the Bodys and Minds of Men? Do's it not often happen, that two great Princes being in War, each ſupported by his Allys, ſeveral other Princes who ſtand neuter, tho powerfully ſollicited to come into the Quarrel, at laſt make Preparations to declare? But a Battel intervening to the ruin of one of the contending Partys, breaks all their Meaſures; and changing the Intereſts of ſeveral neighboring Powers, obliges 'em to enter into a new Confederacy. In good earneſt, can one pretend this is the work of a Comet, at leaſt without maintaining that the Atoms which acted in *Germany*, to bring the Empire into one Scale, are advis'd by the Atoms which got the Battel fought, that one ſide is routed, and on this Incident are to apply their whole Influence a different way? And if this be ſo, is it not beſtowing on the Exhalations of Comets, the Liberty we take from the Will of Man? Is it not making 'em the principal Cauſe of Events, leaving Man the bare Drudgery of acting by their direction and impulſe?

SECT. CCXXXVI. *How ſmall are the Cauſes of ſome of the greateſt Events.*

THeſe Difficultys, which confound Judicial Aſtrology to all intents and purpoſes, are the more inexplicable, as it's certain the Cauſe of the greateſt Armaments, and moſt important Wars, is ſometimes no more than a Caprice, a Pique, an Amourette, a Nothing; whereas the World imagines

imagines that Univerſal Nature has been in travail, for years together, to give the firſt Movement. They who liken the Actions of Princes to great Rivers, whoſe Springs are ſeen by few, but their Courſe and Progreſs is viſible to all, don't carry the Parallel far enough. They might add, That as theſe great Rivers, which roll their Currents with ſo much Majeſty in ſpacious and deep Canals, and whoſe Inundations ſometimes lay whole Provinces waſt, are perhaps the ſmalleſt Rills in their Source; ſo theſe famous Expeditions, which hold a great part of the World in ſuſpence, and change the Deſtiny of Nations, are no more than a Trifle in their firſt Cauſe.

What do you think, Sir, was the firſt Spring of the War of *Xerxes* * againſt *Greece*, the moſt prodigious Armament that Hiſtory mentions?

A Greek Phyſician, one of the Queen's Domeſticks, who, touch'd with a deſire to ſee his native Country, perſuaded his Royal Miſtreſs to this Expedition, and the King by her means. What made all the States of *Greece* arm for the Deſtruction of the flouriſhing Kingdom of *Priam?* A Coquet, who falling in League with a beautiful young Prince, got him to run away with her; and the Credulity of a tender Husband, believing, as thoſe of his Stamp commonly do, that his dear Wife was raviſh'd from him by downright Force. Was not a certain King of *Macedon* like to ſink under a Civil War, by the Intrigues of a Lady, not brooking, after he knew ſhe was far from Cruel, that he wou'd not lay hold of her Favors? Is it not generally believ'd, that the Deſcent of

* *See the* Ariſtippus *of Mr.* Balzac.

the

the *Engliſh* on the Iſle of *Ré*, was an Expedition of Policy, mingled with a Zeal for Religion, and animated by an Ambition of effacing the Glory of all the Cruſades of the antient Kings of *England?* Yet 'twas an Invaſion of pure Gallantry, founded on the amorous Dreams of a Court-Favorite*. What pray, Sir, do you think was the firſt Cauſe of the *Saracens* Invaſion of *Spain?* A Daughter of Count *Julian*, who not thinking it civil to ſhut her Ears to the Vows of her Prince, gave him as many Marks of mutual Affection as he deſir'd. The *Saracens* pouring in afterwards into the very Heart of *France*, till beat back and expel'd by the brave *Charles Martel*, 'twas firmly believ'd the Comet, which appear'd in 726, was the Cauſe of all theſe Calamitys. Prodigious Folly! They ſhou'd have look'd nearer home, to the young *Spaniſh* Lady's Airs; ſhe was the Comet, deſcrib'd in thoſe words of *Lucan*, *Et terris mutantem regna Cometen.* When the *Moors* had puſh'd their Conqueſts as far as the *Pyrenees*, by the Handle which ſhe reach'd 'em, 'twas natural that Conquerors ſhou'd think of extending themſelves into the beautifulleſt Country in the World, without the inſtigation of a Comet. Read the 21ſt Dialogue of Mr. *Balzac*, there you'l find a Letter ſomewhat leſs reſpectful than was expected; and the Omiſſion of two or three Syllables, coſt above two hundred thouſand Men their Lives. *Very humble and moſt affectionate*, which the Count Duke of *Olivarez* found at the bottom of a Prince's Letter, inſtead of *Moſt humble and moſt obedient*, which he judg'd his due,

* Le P. Moine diſc. de L'Hiſt.

threw

threw him into ſuch a Paſſion, that tearing it to pieces, he ſwore the Diſreſpect ſhou'd coſt that Prince the Ruin of his Dominions.

Did it ſute your Gravity to read ſuch a Man as * *Brantome*, you might probably have remark'd this Paſſage in him, where he tells us, *Francis* I. was prevail'd upon by the ſingle Advice of Admiral *Bonnivet* to paſs the Mountains, "Not for any Intereſt or Service of his Maſter, "but purely to pay a Viſit to a certain great Lady "of *Milan*, the beautifulleſt of her time, with "whom he had an old Affair, and who gave him "ſuch delight, that he long'd for one taſt more "of her. I had this account, continues he, from "another great Lady of thoſe times, the very "Perſon who firſt mention'd this Beauty to the "King (her name was *Signora Clerice*, eſteem'd "one of the fineſt Women of *Italy*) and gave "him the Curioſity of making her a Viſit, "and lying with her. And here's the prin-"cipal Cauſe of this mighty Expedition, which "has been ſo long a Secret to moſt People. Thus "one half of the World knows not how the o-"ther half lives, for we take a thing by one han-"dle, when we ſhou'd take it by quite the con-"trary; ſo God, who knows all things, mocks "at our Folly. Isn't this a horrible thing, that an Expedition which brought *France* to the very brink of Ruin, by the taking of its King Priſoner, ſhou'd have for the principal Motive only an amorous Caprice, eaſily ſatisfy'd without going ſo far about?

* Mem. Tour. 1. Diſcourſ. de l' Amiral. de Bonniv.

What

What you ſay is very right, will probably be my Anſwer. The greateſt Enterprizes have ſometimes no higher a Cauſe than a Woman's Spite or Jealouſy. Moſt great Events, good or bad, which are ſuch a Theme of reaſoning to your Men of Speculation, and gain ſo much Praiſe or Blame to thoſe who are the viſible Actors, turn often enough on ſome ſmall and hidden Springs, mov'd by Envy, Intereſt, Love, or ſome other conceal'd Paſſion. And did we know the naked Truth, we ſhou'd quickly change our Cenſure into Apology, and our Praiſes into Scorn: we ſhou'd know the moſt applauded Succeſſes are owing to ill Offices done the General of an Enemy's Army under hand, and that Cardinal *Richelieu* had reaſon to ſay, *Six Foot of Ground* (meaning the Intrigues of the Cabinet) *embaraſs'd him more than all* Europe *beſides*. But who has told you all this while, that Comets don't thruſt in by the by?

SECT. CCXXXVII. *That Comets have no part in exciting the Paſſions which cauſe the Diverſity of Events.*

WHO told me ſo? That little good Senſe which Nature has afforded me, by the help of which I perſuade my ſelf, I. That Comets can't excite all the Paſſions which diverſify Events, unleſs we aſcribe a Gift of Knowledg to all the little Bodys which float in the Air. For if we ſuppoſe that a Comet form'd all the Paſſions which produc'd the War of *Troy*, we muſt alſo ſuppoſe, that ſome of theſe Atoms were charg'd with a Commiſſion, none of the hardeſt it's true, of inflaming *Paris* with the Love of *Helen*, and *Helen*

with the Love of *Paris*; that other Atoms took on them the Care of animating the good *Menelaus*, and perſuading him, tho nothing in't, that his dear Wife pin'd exceedingly ever ſince ſhe was bereft of the ſight of him, and perſiſted in an inexorable Cruelty to her Lover; that another Set had Orders to repreſent to *Agamemnon*, that he ought not to ſuffer ſuch a blot on his Family, and flatter him with the Hopes of the chief Command; while other Atoms innumerable ſtrol'd about the Villages, and Boroughs, and Citys of *Greece*, to ſtir up the common People to Arms: That others took a Progreſs to the Court of King *Priam*, to make the Council o' that ſide reſolve on not reſtoring *Helen*, and ſo on. I ask then, whether, to the end the Atoms which were to operate on the Husband of *Helen*, might play their part aright, it were not neceſſary they ſhou'd be appriz'd, with what Succeſs their Comrades had play'd their Game with *Helen*; and if it be poſſible an Armament, which was ſo often ſhifted and chang'd in its Meaſures, one Party of the Princes governing themſelves by the ſteps of another, and altering their Reſolutions as the Conduct of the reſt pleas'd or diſpleas'd 'em, as it ever happens in ſuch Confederacys, cou'd be produc'd by Atoms not mutually communicating the Succeſs of their Influences, and changing their Batterys according to the Circumſtances of Time and Place? Now as 'twere ridiculous to aſcribe the leaſt Knowledg to the Atoms of a Comet, ſo 'twere ridiculous to ſay, they thruſt themſelves into the Intrigues and Paſſions from which Events take their Riſe; becauſe theſe Paſſions ſpring one from t'other, and are of this kind rather than of that, according to the

the Circumſtances of Time and Place, and the Openings of Affairs. Certain it is, the more Affairs depend on Caprice and Paſſion, the more impoſſible it is they ſhou'd be ſubject to the Influence of any blind and neceſſary Cauſe, ſuch as Comets be.

II. I perſuade my ſelf, by the help of that ſmall ſtock of good Senſe which Nature has beſtow'd on me, that tho no Comet ever blaz'd in the Heavens, yet the Earth wou'd never be without a deal of Coquetry, Jealouſy, Ambition, Envy, Love, Hatred. Let the Lady of Intrigue ſay then as long as ſhe pleaſe, that 'tis her Stars decree her to love, I'm firmly reſolv'd not to believe a word on't, and firmly perſuaded, that Buſineſs wou'd go forward neither more nor leſs, tho all the Stars in the Firmament were extinguiſh'd. So, Sir, if you have no other Imployment for your Comets than that of inſpiring the tender Paſſions, a Spirit of Intrigue, Flights of Gallantry, Jealouſy, Vanity, it is not worth while; once more, nothing were more needleſs than Comets, we ſhou'd have Plenty enough of this kind without their Care.

SECT. CCXXXVIII. *That Man needs no Foreign Aſſiſtance to be agitated by all ſorts of Paſſions. Inſtances of the Jewiſh Superſtition.*

I Shall repeat what I ſaid before touching Superſtition, That tho the Devil had ne'er meddled, Men had nevertheleſs fallen into this Vice, ſo naturally are they inclin'd to it. The *Jews*, if ever any Nation, ought to be exempt from this

failing, to whom God reveal'd his Will by infallible Oracles, by Prophets, and continual Miracles. Yet they grew * so ridiculously simple as to believe, if the Priest in putting on the Sacerdotal Vestments did not take up each in its Order, the Expiation cou'd have no effect; and that 'twas so essential to the Sacrifice, the officiating Priest shou'd set his bare Foot immediately to the ground, and have no other Habits on than those ordain'd by God, that if he hapned to set his Foot on the Skin of the Victim, or on the Foot of a Stander by, or on any other thing besides, the Expiation was frustrated; and if the Priest had Wounds with Plaisters on 'em, the Sacrifice was null and void by a Nullity of Vestment.

What I say of Superstition, is to be understood of all other Vices; there's a Seed of Corruption in the Soul of Man, which may justly be liken'd to a Coal apply'd to combustible Matter. If this Coal be blown by a violent Wind, 'twill cause a fearful Ravage; but won't fail doing a deal of Mischief, tho assisted by no Wind at all. All the difference lies here, that its Action spreads farther and swifter when driven by the Wind than when not. The Devil is like a Wind blowing up the Coal of our Concupiscence, and the Cause indeed of its bringing forth evil Fruits sooner and in a larger crop; which yet wou'd thrive and grow apace, purely from the rankness of the Soil. Whence appears the Error of those who imagine, no wicked Thought ever enters into their Heart unless suggested by the Devil, not considering

* Vide Braunium de vestib. Sacerd.

there's

there's a principle of Malice within 'em, as the Apoſtle † St. *James* juſtly remarks. This hinders not the Devil's actually tempting us to Evil. However we muſt inſiſt, the Stars are in no wiſe the Cauſe of our Paſſions. Theſe are only Fantoms on which Men endeavor to lay their Faults, with as little ground as they aſcribe to Fortune that ill Succeſs in their Affairs which proceeds from mere Imprudence.

Aug. 31. 1681.

SECT. CCXXXIX. *Remarks ſhewing, that to make a Judgment of what ſhall happen after the Appearance of Comets, there's no need of conſidering theſe Stars; and that 'tis ſufficient to have an Eye to the Situation of general Affairs, to the Inclinations and Intereſts of Princes. An Eſſay of this Method on the Comet of* 1618. *and that of* 1681.

I Begin to be weary, Sir, and believe I ſhall ſoon have done imparting my Reflections to you. I had almoſt forgot whereabouts I was; and not without recollecting my ſelf a little, have comprehended, that to keep a Connexion between what I'm about to deliver, and what I wrote to you laſt, it behoves me to ſet out in this manner.

There's no need of taking it ſo high, to find the ſource of that Vanity, Pride, Envy, Avarice, Luſt, and the other inordinate Paſſions which do ſuch a deal of Miſchief to human Society. If

† Ch. 1. 4.

there muſt be Stars to cauſe 'em, they are undoubtedly thoſe on Earth which the Poets ſing ſo much of, and not thoſe Stars which ſparkle in the Heavens. However it be, 'tis certain none are ſo capable of foretelling Revolutions of State, as they who are acquainted with the Diſpoſition and Genius of Princes, their Intereſts, Councils, and Forces. A Man of good Senſe, who carrys his Obſervations backward, who from Hiſtory, and his acquaintance with the World, diſcovers the Springs on which general Affairs do turn, and is beſides thorowly inſtructed in the Maxims and Spirit which govern particular Countrys, ſhall often make ſo juſt a Judgment without the help of the Judicial Art, that all the Aſtrologers on Earth laying their Heads together to diſcover what the Stars prognoſticate, ſhall ſay nothing to the purpoſe in compariſon of him. Which ſhews it's abſolutely uſeleſs conſulting the Stars to know future Events, and that one ſhall give a much nearer gueſs, by conſulting the Humor and Inclinations of the People.

SECT. CCXL. *Examples of ſome Politicians who have foretold Events.*

'TWAS undoubtedly by this method *Cicero* foretold the Overthrow of the Commonwealth of *Rome*, and *Du Vair* Keeper of the Seals, the Misfortunes which befel the State of *France*. Mark how theſe two Great Men expreſs themſelves; 'I comfort my ſelf, *ſays the firſt*, 'with the Teſtimony of a good Conſcience, when 'I reflect on my having done the greateſt Services to my Country, while 'twas in my Pow-

'er;

'er; and on my judging constantly of the Pub-
'lick * Affairs as if I had a Gift of Prophecy,
'having foreseen the Storm which overthrew the
'Commonwealth fourteen Years before it hap-
'ned. Let's hear Mr. *d' Vair:* 'I was ever of
'a crazy Constitution, neither my Body nor Mind
'capable of much fatigue, my Memory extreme
'treacherous, having of all the Gifts of Nature, on-
'ly a Sagacity so extraordinary for perceiving the
'Truth, that I don't think, since I came to Man's
'Estate, any thing of importance ever befel the
'State, or the Publick, or my self in particular,
'which I had not exactly foreseen. I have bor-
row'd these two Passages from the Learned Mr.
† *Menage*, the *Varro* of our Age, as *P. Maim-
bourg* justly entitles him in his History of the
Greek Schism.

But 'tis not on *Cicero*'s single Testimony, that we believe he had such a Talent of Prophecy; we are further assur'd of it by the Account of a famous *Roman* Historian, who says; 'If one read
'over the Epistles of *Cicero* to *Pomponius Atticus*,
'he may very well dispense with the Historys of
'those Times, because he finds in 'em the Pas-
'sions of the Great so faithfully describ'd, the
'Failings of the leading Men, and Declen-
'sion of the Commonwealth, that all the rest is
'only a natural Consequence, and this Conclusion

* Præclarâ igitur Conscientiâ fuftentor, cum cogito me de Republicâ aut meruisse optimè, cum potuerim; aut certe nunquam nisi diviné cogitasse: eâque ipsâ tempestate eversam esse Rempublicam quam ego 14 annis antè prospexeram. *Ad Attic. L.* 10. *Ep.* 4.

† Observat. sur la Langue Franc. 2 *Part. p.* 110.

'‖ obvious on the whole, That Prudence is a kind 'of Divination; ſince *Cicero* did not only foretel 'the Events which happen'd in his own Time, 'but alſo thoſe which follow'd for a long time af-'ter. This Teſtimony confirms another Paſſage of *Cicero*, where he aſſures us the Gift of Prophecy, which he had acquir'd by deep Thought, and the Adminiſtration of Publick Affairs, had never fail'd him **; which he cou'd eaſily prove by Examples, but for fear of being ſuſpected of forging Predictions on paſt Events, tho he did not want Witneſſes enough: 'I don't divine, *ſays he*, ei-'ther by the flight, or by the chirping of Birds, 'or by any obſervations contain'd in the Augu-'ral Art; I make uſe of other Signs, which 'tho perhaps not more infallible, are yet much 'clearer, and leſs ſubject to Illuſion: I conſider '*Ceſar*'s Humor and Genius on one hand, and 'the Nature and Tendency of Civil Wars on the 'other.

By much the ſame Rule the famous *Stephen Paſquier* foretold great Tumults in *France*, when obſerving at the opening of the Parliament of St. *Martin* in 1587. that the Prieſt who celebrated

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‖ Facile exiſtimari poſſit, prudentiam quodammodò eſſe Divinationem: non enim Cicero ea ſolum quæ vivo ſe acciderunt, futura prædixit, ſed etiam quæ nunc uſu veniunt prædixit ut vates. *Corn. Nep. in vitâ Attic.*

** Ne nos quidem noſtra Divinatio fallet, quam tum ſapientiſſimorum virorum monumentis, atque Præceptis, plurimoque, ut ſcis, Doctrinæ ſtudio, tam magno etiam uſu tractandæ Reipublicæ, magnaque etiam noſtrorum temporum Varietate conſecuti ſumus, cui quidem Divinationi hoc plus confidimus, quod ea nos nihil in his tam obſcuris rebus tanquam perturbatis unquam omnino fefellit, &c. *Cicero Epiſt. Famil. l. 6. Epiſt. 6.*

Maſs

Mass before the Presidents and Counsellors in their Scarlet Gowns and Formalitys, did not present the *Pax* to be kiss'd by 'em, as was ever the custom to do. 'Did || not you take notice, *says he to one of his Friends*, 'the *Pax* was not presented to 'the Members? I'l forfeit my Life, if this do's 'not forebode some extraordinary Evil to *France*; 'so he said, and so it came to pass the same Year. For in the Month of *May* following happen'd the Barricade of *Paris*, which soon after brought on the Death of Mr. *de Guise*, and a Civil War, which prov'd fatal to the Kingdom.

SECT. CCXLI. *A Confutation of* Pasquier's *Presage.*

ONE need be no great Conjurer to deliver such a Prediction as this of the Author of the *Review of France*. All things were so dispos'd for a mighty Rupture, that 'twas morally impossible the Kingdom shou'd get off at a cheap rate. So the Priest's mistake was the ground of *Pasquier*'s Conjecture, only as falling in with his former Judgment on the present State of Affairs: And I dare say, were he alive at this time, and shou'd see such another Mistake the day of the Parliament's meeting, he'd draw no Presage from it. So true is it, that the Priest's Conduct was a matter purely casual, and without any meaning: For by what Virtue wou'd you have the omission of an antient Ceremony presage the Calamitys of *France?* 'Twere necessary for this end that God

|| Recherches de la France, *L.* 5. *ch.* 45.

shou'd

ſhou'd ſtrike the Prieſt with a Spirit of Blunder, to give *Paſquier* a Revelation of the Dangers of *France*; which 'twere very abſurd to maintain, as well becauſe *Paſquier* was not ignorant that the Affairs of *France* had an ill Aſpect, as becauſe his foreſeeing the approaching Storm was abſolutely unprofitable to *France*. For of what uſe was it to the Kingdom, that *Paſquier* diſcern'd a Preſage in the Prieſt's Blunder? Of what uſe to *Paſquier*'s Friends, who were the Depoſitarys of his Conjectures? Of what uſe to himſelf? He was highly pleas'd at his own Prediction, he hug'd himſelf in it; he put his Friends a hundred times in mind, after the Evils came to paſs, that he had fairly foretold 'em; he has entertain'd the Republick of Letters with it in a Chapter of his Book: And here's all. A mighty piece of Buſineſs, and well worth the pains of interrupting the Courſe of Nature, and giving the Prieſt a wandring Spirit, quite different from what he might have had, if not diverted by an extraordinary Providence from thinking of all the Ceremonys of the Day. Yet this is what we muſt come to: for if the Prieſt omitted this Ceremony, either becauſe he did not underſtand his Buſineſs, or becauſe he wou'd not conform, or becauſe his Mind was diſtracted, the natural Succeſſion of Objects carrying him from one Thought to another, ſo that he had not time to think of preſenting the *Pax* to be kiſs'd by Meſſieurs of the Parliament; 'tis plain his Omiſſion was not a Preſage in any reſpect, becauſe God only acting from a direct Purpoſe, is able to change any Action into a Preſage, which in its own Nature is not ſo. Now common Senſe tells us, that were the Finger of God

God in't, the Presage had been much clearer and more distinct, and attended with Circumstances rendring it of some real Advantage.

This brings another * Author to my mind, who in his *Political Essays on War and Government*, propheſy'd a Calamity much about the same time with *Pasquier*. The Design of the first Chapter of his Book is to set forth, that *France* was on the brink of a dreadful Revolution, by reason of the enormous Sins which reign'd all over it; Atheism, Irreligion, Blasphemy, Magick, Witchcraft, Luxury, Drunkenness, Impurity, Violence. So far he's right; a Prediction built on such a Foundation, may well come to pass. What he adds, That Comets were already seen, Eclipses, Spectres; dreadful Voices heard in the Air, *&c.* might seem surprizing in a military Man as he was, did we not know that no Dominion Mankind is under, is so universal as that of Credulity for Presage. But what he says of its being remark'd by many, that the State was in a Climaterick Period, and that all the Niches and Spaces contriv'd in the Palace of *Paris* for the Statues of our Kings were full; this, I say, is indeed a common but very childish Superstition. 'Tis probable *La Noue* had ne'er set up for a Prophet, if he had not some of these political Presages in view, which are much better founded than those of Superstition.

Shou'd you have the curiosity to consult the Passages I cite, you may find perhaps I take this Matter wrong, for I own I refer to it on my bare Memory. But sure I am, my Mistake can't

* La Noue.

be

be ſo conſiderable as that of Mr. *Naudé*, the Man of the moſt reading in *France*, † who charges *La Noue* with foretelling great Calamitys, becauſe all the Niches for the Statues of our Kings were obſerv'd to be full. Which is charging him with alledging as a Reaſon, what he only mentions at the latter end of the Chapter as a common Remark, and with ſome ſort of Contempt. All Authors abound with Faults of this kind; and ſince I began to write theſe Thoughts to you, I have a hundred times had the mortification to drop ſeveral Paſſages, which anſwer'd my Deſign the beſt in the World as they ſtand in modern Authors; but conſulting the Originals, appear'd to be nothing to the purpoſe.

SECT. CCXLII. *'Twas eaſy to foreſee a mighty War in* Europe *in* 1618.

BY theſe Political Preſages, 'twas no hard matter to foreſee in 1618. that *Europe* ſhou'd ſoon be terribly ſhaken. The Comet which appear'd this Year, was the only thing which paſs'd for a plain Preſage; yet this was not the thing which Men ſhou'd turn their Eyes to. 'Twere as eaſy to prove from the miſerable Rules of Aſtrology, of which I have given a ſhort account * already, that this Comet might portend Bleſſings to *Europe* as well as Calamitys. What then muſt they have an eye to? To the Steps the Houſe of *Auſtria* was taking to Univerſal Monarchy, to that inſupportable Inſolence with which

† Inſtruct. ſur les Freres de la Roſe-croix ch. 6. * Sect. 17.

the

the Miniſters of the Emperor, and the King of *Spain*, carry'd themſelves in all the Courts of *Europe*; and the furious Zeal which this Houſe ſo unſeaſonably betray'd for the Extirpation of the new Religions. There was no need of any extraordinary deep Foreſight to ſee, that the neighboring States and Princes wou'd at laſt loſe all Patience, and form powerful Leagues for checking the ambitious Deſigns of a Family, which aim'd at extending a Tyrannical Dominion, not only over the Perſons, but over the Conſciences of Men. What room was there to doubt that People wou'd openly oppoſe Enterprizes ſo fatal to the publick Liberty? But as this Houſe was ſtill powerful, tho its Infatuation in oppreſſing the World on the ſcore of Religion, had much weaken'd it; and as they had good Troops and good Generals, capable of executing the Orders of the Courts, while the Princes themſelves, ſurrounded by Crouds of bigotted Monks, ne'er budg'd from their Palaces; twas eaſy to foreſee, that the Efforts of the Powers of *Europe* for preſerving their Liberty, might be vigorouſly repel'd, and conſequently a long and bloody War enſue.

SECT.

SECT. CCXLIII. *The Slowneſs and Bigotry in the Conduct of the Houſe of* Auſtria.

ON one hand 'twas evident the Emperor and King of *Spain* wou'd employ their utmoſt Power to oppreſs Chriſtendom: but 'twas plain on the other, they cou'd ne'er enſlave it; becauſe Delays *, and long Deliberations, which have often perform'd a friendly Part on the ſide of Liberty, loſt 'em too many favorable Occaſions. You know *Malherbe*'s thought on this Subject: *If it be true,* ſays he in one of his Letters, *that* Spain *aſpires to the Univerſal Monarchy, I'd adviſe 'em to pray God that he'd be pleas'd to put off the End of the World to a longer Day.* In effect, conſidering the way they went about it, weighing and re-weighing the ſame thing a thouſand times over, 'twas impoſſible they ſhou'd accompliſh thoſe Conqueſts which they were accus'd of aſpiring after. Your great Conquerors have always ſucceeded better by truſting to Fortune, than by pondering their Enterprizes with the exacteſt circumſpection. For which reaſon † *Macchiavel* compares Fortune to a Woman; and *Charles* V. obſerv'd, on the Succeſſes of *Henry* II. ſhe was of the humor of the Female Sex, with whom the youngeſt Galant is firſt in favor. The *Florentin* Politician aſſigns this Reaſon for't, That the young are more enterprizing, and void of that awful Reſpect, which is good for nothing in the way of Gallantry. But what-

* Cethegus ſemper querebatur de ignaviâ ſociorum: illos dubitando & dies prolatando magnas opportunitates corrumpere. *Salluſt. Bell. Catil.* † In Tract. de Principe, cap. 25.

ever

ever becomes of the Comparison, certain it is, that one never makes a mighty Conqueror without a degree of Rashness; and that nothing promotes the Designs of an ambitious Prince * like Diligence and Activity. So that the too scrupulous and cautious Slowness of the Council of *Spain*, ought to convince all *Europe*, that her design of Universal Monarchy might last a long while.

Besides, the two great Branches of the House of *Austria* are so drawn in by the Promoters of the Inquisition, that 'twas impossible they shou'd e'er have conquer'd *Europe*. This were an Endeavor of joining two Things incompatible in Nature, the being a Conqueror, and a Persecutor; because the People they wou'd fain subdue, fight like Lions, when they find they are to have a Religion forc'd upon 'em which they judg unlawful.

Sect. CCXLIV. *That Conquerors have avoided the Odium of Persecutors.*

THIS undoubtedly is the Reason why *Mahomet*, resolving to found a new Empire and a new Religion at the same time, affected a great † Appearance of Clemency for the Christians; and publish'd, wherever he mov'd his Arms, a Toleration for all sorts of Religions, and particularly the Christian. He inserted this Principle in his Alcoran in very comprehensive Terms: *O Infidels*, says he, *I adore not what you adore, neither do*

* Natura ferox, vehemens, manu promptus erat, maximum bonum in celeritate putabat. *Sallust. ubi supra.*

† *Sir* P. Rycaut's *State of the* Ottoman *Emp.* l. 2. c. 2.

you

you adore what I adore. Obſerve you your Law, and I'll obſerve mine. 'Tis pretended he made a Treaty with the Chriſtians, by which he engag'd for himſelf and his Succeſſors, in the moſt authentick manner, to protect, and grant 'em conſiderable Priviledges. 'Tis pretended the * Original Contract was found in a Monaſtery of Mount *Carmel*. Mr. *de Saumaiſe* † thinks the Piece not ſuppoſititious, grounding his Opinion on a Paſſage of *El-Macin* in the Life of *Mahomet*, which mentions his Indulgence for the Chriſtian Religion. But tho we ſhou'd, with *Grotius*, ſuſpect it a pious Fraud of the Chriſtians, we have proof ‖ enough beſides, that this falſe Prophet granted Chriſtianity a Toleration: And the Chapter *of the Sword* in the Alcoran, whatever Violence it allows to be exercis'd on thoſe who won't ſubmit to the Yoke, ordains notwithſtanding a Toleration for all who lay down their Arms. And this was obſerv'd with Humanity enough by the firſt Succeſſors of *Mahomet*, as ‖‖ *P. Maimbourg* is forc'd to own in his Hiſtory of the *Iconoclaſts*; where he tells us, the *Caliphs* not only allow'd the Chriſtians the free Exerciſe of their Religion, but alſo train'd 'em up to the greateſt Employments. They made no ſcruple of conferring the higheſt Truſts of their Empire on the Father of St. *John Damaſcene*, and granting 'em to his Son after his death, who was beſides made Preſident of the Council, and Governor of the Capital City. Even at this day the Chriſtians are tolerated in *Turky*, and dread the Ar-

* *The Contents of this Treaty is to be met with in the 2d Book of Sir* P. Rycaut's *Hiſt.* † Epiſt. 20. l. 2. ‖ *Vid.* Hotting. Hiſt. Orient. l. 2. c. 2. ‖‖ L. 2. ad An. 731.

tifice

tifice much more than the Violences of the Infidels. For * if they speak against the Religion of *Mahomet*, or when drunk promise to turn *Turks*, or debauch a Turkish Woman, there's no choice left 'em between Death and Apostacy. If a Christian turn Turk, all his Family, under the Age of Fourteen, are oblig'd to abjure Christianity. They are allow'd to keep up the Roofs and Cieling of the Churches they have enjoy'd from time immemorial; but not to enlarge 'em or build new, or rebuild those which fall; much as we confine the Hugonots to the Churches they enjoy'd under the Reign of *Harry* the Great. You may call this Persecution if you please; still it's plain, there's more of Artifice than Violence in it: and they who bestir themselves in the Extirpation of Calviniſm, can't term it so, without turning their own Accusers. After all, whether the Turks persecute Christianity or no, it's nevertheless true, that *Mahomet* designing to extend his Conquests, took particular care not to scare People on the Article of Religion.

The Conquerors who went before him, were farther still from this Spirit of Persecution than he. 'Twas ne'er seen that *Cyrus*, or *Alexander*, or *Cesar*, inquir'd concerning the Religion of the Nations they subdu'd, or forc'd 'em to abjure, if different from that of their new Lords. When an Officer's Services intitled him to a Promotion, they ne'er examin'd whether he was of the Prince's Religion; they ne'er had a thought of stopping his just Rewards, till such time as he conform'd.

* *Rycaut.*

And when pray ſhou'd they have accompliſh'd the Conqueſt of the World, if amus'd with ſuch little Concerns? You ſee too how very near the Houſe of *Auſtria* is now arriv'd at Univerſal Monarchy. Its great Catholicity makes it, as you ſee, advance apace. In *Germany* it can ſcarce defend it ſelf againſt a handful of Rebels. In *Spain*, as already obſerv'd *, it has not Authority enough to hinder the few Soldiers it has left, from taking their Arrears out of the Traveller's Purſes.

SECT. CCXLV. *How much the Houſe of* Auſtria *has weaken'd it ſelf by Perſecutions for Religion.*

IF it be true, as Story tells us, that the Elevation of this Houſe has been the Reward of the wonderful Piety of the Emperor *Rodolphus*, who one day meeting a Prieſt as he carried the Holy Sacrament a foot, made him mount his own Horſe, and walk'd after him with great Devotion; one may venture to ſay, his Poſterity have not had the ſame Returns from that invincible Ardor they have conſtantly expreſs'd for the Extirpation of Hereſy by Fire and Sword. And no wonder: the Action of *Rodolphus* proceeded from a Heart ſenſibly affected with Religious Zeal; but Perſecutions, Gallys, Gibbets, and generally all the ways of Violence employ'd in favor of the good Religion, are the Effects of an intemperate Heat, to which God thinks not fit to give a Bleſſing. *Fallit te incautum pietas tua*, may juſtly be apply'd

* *Sect.* 40.

to

to all poſſeſs'd with a Zeal ſo monſtrous, and ſo fit to confirm thoſe in their Atheiſm, who run down all Religion with their

Tantum Religio potuit ſuadere malorum. Lucr. l. 1.

I ſhou'd not declare my ſelf ſo freely, did I not remember to have heard you condemn thoſe who adviſe Princes to ſuch wicked Methods for the Extirpation of Hereſy. However it be, if the Houſe of *Auſtria* has been recompens'd for its Zeal againſt the falſe Religions, the Recompence, it's plain, has not been in Temporal Bleſſings, for it has coſt 'em the brighteſt Jewel in their Crowns. I don't mean the Countrys loſt by theſe Methods, that's a Trifle; but the Credit, the Glory, and high Renown, of which they were once in poſſeſſion. Their preſent low Ebb makes *Europe* an ampler Reparation of Honor for all the Inſults ſuffer'd from 'em heretofore, than it really deſires; and 'tis to the Victorys of *France* it principally owes the ſatisfaction of being reveng'd, and of ſeeing the *Spaniſh* Pride trampled under foot, *Calco Platonis faſtum*—— the reſt you know, and can't diſown, that the boundleſs Ambition of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, added to its Zeal for eſtabliſhing the inhuman oppreſſive Tribunal of the Inquiſition in all its Dominions; its Power join'd to the ſlowneſs of its Deliberations, might well make People foreſee a long and bloody War between the Princes of *Europe* about the time of the Comet's appearance in 1618.

SECT. CCXLVI. *What are the Preſages moſt in vogue at preſent. Favorable Diſpoſitions for* France's *extending its Conqueſts.*

WHAT I advance touching the Year 1618, is confirm'd by the general Talk in the preſent Juncture. They who have the leaſt Inſight into publick Affairs, believe they know enough, to foretel what will happen ſoon after this Comet of ours: And I obſerve, that to form their Predictions, they ne'er trouble themſelves to examine by what Signs it moves. They conſider only the Poſture of the general Affairs of *Europe*. And on theſe in reality we are to form our prophetick Views. And from theſe, tho no Prodigy or Comet offer'd, one might reaſonably conclude, that *Europe* is come to a Period of terrible Revolutions, and that never was a more favorable Conjuncture for mighty Conqueſts.

I. On one hand we ſee *France* govern'd by a Prince, all whoſe Actions are perform'd with equal Degrees of Conduct and Courage, with an Aſcendant ſo fortunate, and a World ſo highly prepoſſeſs'd in his Favor, that 'tis taken for granted he attempts nothing without having concerted all the Meaſures which muſt render the Enterprize infallible; and hence it is that his Neighbors ſcarce think of defending themſelves. The Name of the King is a *Meduſa*'s Head, which turns all his Enemys into Statues: He overcomes by depriving 'em of the Courage to reſiſt. I ſhall ſay more on this Head anon.

SECT.

SECT. CCXLVII. *A Detail of the Circumſtances in favor of* France.

II. BEſide this mighty Prepoſſeſſion, which alone is equal to an Army of a hundred thouſand Men, the King has a great many Troops extremely well diſciplin'd, and accuſtom'd to Victory; many excellent Generals, equally zealous of their Maſter's Glory, and capable of the greateſt Enterprizes. He has a vaſt Number of able Managers, who have the knack of getting Intelligence from all Parts; fine, dextrous, diligent, careſſing, menacing, pliable to Occaſions, skilful in ſowing Diviſions, Suſpicions, Jealouſys on the Right-hand and on the Left, in giving the beſt Turn to things; in a word, in lulling Princes to a profound Sleep. Wou'd you know 'em better by their Practice? read the Contrivance of *Sybilla* in *Virgil*. The Paſſage is ſomewhat of the longeſt, but very bright. One wou'd think *Virgil*, when he wrote it, had our Triple Alliance in view, as it ſtands Centry to the *Spaniſh* Dominions.

* ——— ——— *In his Den they found*
The triple Porter of the Stygian Sound,
Grim Cerberus; *who ſoon began to rear*
His creſted Snakes, and arm'd his briſtling Hair.

* Cerberus hæc ingens latrata regna trifauci
Perſonat, adverſo recubans immanis in Antro.
Cui vates horrere videns jam colla colubris,
Melle ſoporatam atque objectis frugibus offam
Objicit. Ille fame rabidâ tria guttura pandens,
Corripit objectam, atque immania terga reſolvit
Fuſus humi, totoque ingens extenditur Antro.
Occupat Æneas aditum Cuſtode ſepulto. *Æneid. l. 6.*

But prudent Sybil *had before prepar'd*
A Sop, in Hony ſteep'd, to charm the Guard;
Which mix'd with pow'rful Drugs, ſhe caſt before
His greedy grinning Jaws juſt op'd to roar:
With three enormous Mouths he gapes; and ſtraight,
With Hunger preſs'd, devours the pleaſing Bait.
Long Draughts of Sleep his monſtrous Limbs enſlave;
He reels, and falling fills the ſpacious Cave.
The Keeper charm'd, the Chief without delay
Paſs'd on, ——————————

Dryd. Vir. p. 429.

III. As for Mony, that Sinew of War which compaſſes every Point, and finds no Fortreſs impregnable, his Majeſty has more to ſpare than all his Neighbors together, without reckoning in the Felicity of having Miniſters inexhauſtible in new Ways and Means, and Subjects of inexhauſtible Patience.

IV. Not to forget our *French* Ladys in all the Courts of *Europe*, which is no inconſiderable advantage: for what can't they bring about, having naturally a World of Charms, inſinuating with great Addreſs into the deepeſt Receſſes of the Soul, eſteeming it a Glory to be ſerviceable to their Country, train'd early to the Arts of Intrigue, and correſponding with the Miniſters of *France* at pleaſure? They who know Mr. *Mezeray*'s Remark in the Life of *Harry* IV. That the Intrigues between the Ladys and Lords of the *French* Court, * *had brought about the greateſt Events in the Court of* France *ever ſince the Reign of* Fran-

* Abrege Chronol. ad An. 1605.

cis I.

cis I. must needs have a high Opinion of our *French* Ladys Politicks. This perhaps is the ground of some Peoples saying, It's more the Interest of our Kings to have Daughters than Sons; because by marrying the Princesses out of the Kingdom, we make advantageous Alliances, and are sure of Creatures in high Credit among our Neighbors. Whence they are often call'd Victims of State, sacrific'd against their real Inclinations: but they soon forget this small Violence, and toil for their Country's Good.

V. Add to this the many Advantages which concur in the King's own Person. He's at an Age in which the Powers of Body and Mind, Courage and Prudence, are in a just Equilibrium. A Prince whose Character comprehends all the Qualitys of *Alexander* and *Philip*, temper'd and corrected one by t'other. Instead of the false Bravery of *Alexander*, he's possest of that Spirit of Negotiation peculiar to *Philip*; and to the Mysterys of the Cabinet, in which *Philip* excel'd, adds all that can be counted true Courage in *Alexander*. For as to that Delicacy which allow'd him not to surprize an Enemy, 'tis an Excess a Hero may well depart from without tarnishing the Lustre of his Glory. 'Tis stretching the Notion of Bravery too far, not to refuse the advantage of a dark Night for gaining a decisive Victory. 'Tis pure Vanity to imagine, that not giving an Enemy time to make a vigorous Defence, diminishes the Merit of a Triumph. Our Hero is above these airy Refinements. When he designs to besiege a Town in *Flanders*, he marches towards *Lorain*; and wou'd be very sorry if his Enemys penetrating the design, shou'd grow saucy on their be-

ing ſufficiently provided. This ſhews, Men ſteer to Glory by quite contrary Paths. A Conqueror, who gave his Enemy timely notice that he deſign'd to beſiege ſuch a Fortreſs, and yet ſhou'd take it, wou'd be prodigiouſly prais'd. *Alexander*'s * ſo much admir'd Anſwer to *Polypercon*, ſhews this. When our King takes a Town, after he has done his utmoſt Endeavors to conceal the intended Siege, he's prodigiouſly prais'd too. He's daily † extol'd for his Skill in concealing a premeditated War under the appearance of Diverſions or Progreſſes; That the Review of *Vincennes* was a Preparation for the War of *Flanders*, and that the Enterprize on the *Franche-Comté* had only the Air of a Progreſs to *Burgundy*. Every one knows the Device on this occaſion, A Sun hid in the Clouds, with theſe Words:

Tegiturque parat dum fulmina.

This laſt is much the ſureſt way to Victory. Let's agree then, that the King joining to the Character of *Philip* all that's ſolid in *Alexander*'s Courage, is moſt capable of making great Conqueſts, and moſt incapable of deſtroying the Advantages of Fortune by Acts of Temerity. I add theſe laſt Words, becauſe I remember my ſaying in another place, That Conquerors ought to throw themſelves upon Fortune, without conſulting the Rules of Prudence. I own, moſt Conquerors have done ſo; but as much greater Numbers have

* Q. Curt. l. 4. c. 13. † Entret. Ariſte. & Eugene. 3 Entret.

miſ-

miſcarry'd by running on madly: the ſafeſt way is to join the Maxims of Prudence to a Spirit of Bravery.

This however is not ſufficient ground to conclude, the Period for great Conqueſts is yet at hand. 'Twere farther neceſſary, that *Europe* be in no Condition to reſiſt the King's mighty Power: For, as I already obſerv'd, *Cyrus* and *Alexander* might have ſtruggled many a year in one Province. Great Conqueſts are then made, when a mighty Warrior, provided with all neceſſary Advantages, meets with no one who gives him conſiderable oppoſition. When he's to diſpute the ground Inch by Inch, and after taking one Town, muſt ſit down before another within a League of it, he makes little progreſs in twenty years War. 'Tis doing buſineſs, when after ſtriking a Conſternation far and near, People come poſting three or four days Journey with the Keys of their Citys.

SECT. CCXLVIII. *A Thought on the preſent State of* Europe.

LET's conſider *Europe* then as it ſtands at preſent, under an infinite Number of Sovereigns, or ſuch as wou'd be thought ſo. We ſhall find ſome of 'em, who not having ſufficient means to ſupport their Dignity, dare not reſolve on any vigorous Meaſures, for fear of loſing their Penſion. We ſhall find others ſunk in ſenſual Pleaſures, and who place their whole Glory in the ſoft Embraces of a Miſtreſs: Some who ſell off Branches of their Revenues to go paſs a Carnaval at *Venice*, void of every Thought of what's truly Great, and dead to a Senſe of Glory: Others bow'd

bow'd down by the Yoke of ſenſleſs Superſtition, and Slaves to ſome ignorant Monk or Friar; whilſt others are reſtrain'd by the Danger of being the firſt devour'd, if they ſhou'd offer to ſtir. They who have Capacity and Courage enough to make a Stand, have not the Forces at command which they cou'd wiſh for.

VII. I meet with Frenchmen, who to all I have ſaid, add further, That our Neighbors admiring the great Qualitys of our Monarch, aſpire to the Honor of being in the Number of his Subjects; and I have read ſo much, in I don't know how many Pamphlets publiſh'd by Authority. I have paſs'd thro the Places which will be the firſt conquer'd, and obſerv'd in 'em all a horrible Dread of the *French* Domination, which they look on as a diſmal Proſpect opening upon 'em for the Chaſtiſement of their Sins. *Nothing's more agreeable,* ſay they in thoſe places, *than the* French *Nation, when you only travel among 'em; but 'tis a dreadful thing to fall into their hands when they come among you as Conquerors. They inſult, they pillage; they are the Terror of Mothers and Husbands; they fill all Places with Offices and Taxes as vexatious as the very Dragoons,* &c. I anſwer'd 'em, They idoliz'd their imaginary Liberty; and that taking one thing with another, they were greater Slaves than we: but they'd not hear a word on't. So let's not reckon the Ambition of becoming *French* Subjects, in the number of the favorable Diſpoſitions we are ſearching after.

SECT. CCXLIX. *How Republicks in antient Times mortify'd the Monarchys.*

VIII. THEY who ſay the King will only have to deal with Republicks, are partly in the right; for properly ſpeaking, I know no Kingly form of Government about us except *Spain*, from whence undoubtedly no Oppoſition will be made. But they're miſtaken in imagining Kings have nothing to apprehend from a Republican State. For who knows not that the Commonwealth of *Rome* was the Scourge of Monarchs, and that crown'd Heads were never ſo mortify'd as by this Republick, expoſing 'em for a Maygame to the People during the Ceremonys of their Triumphs; caſting 'em in Chains and in Priſons; and pretending a private Citizen of *Rome*, cloth'd with the Conſular Dignity, ought to take place of the greateſt Monarchs; and that 'twas doing 'em a very great * Honor to confer on 'em the Title of *Friends of the Roman People?* Can there be a greater inſtance of Haughtineſs than the Conduct of *Popilius*, Chief of the Embaſſy which the *Roman* Senate ſent to King *Antiochus* the Great, enjoining him to make Peace with *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt?* This Monarch, one of the powerfulleſt Princes of *Aſia*, reacht the Embaſſador his hand in the moſt obliging manner imaginable; the Embaſſador only

* Pacem illi prius petendam a Pop. Rom. eſſe quam ut Rex ſociuſque & amicus appelletur; nominis ejus honorem pro magnis erga ſe Regum meritis dare Pop. Rom. conſueſſe. *Liv. l.* 1. *dec.* 4.

reacht

reacht him the Letters of the Senate. *Antiochus* having read 'em over, promis'd to conſider of the matter: *Popilius* admitting no delay, drew a Circle with his Ring about the Monarch, and demanded a poſitive Anſwer before he ſtir'd from the ſpot. The Prince finding himſelf hard preſt, agreed to the Senate's Propoſals; and then the Embaſſador offer'd his Hand. * Some time after *Antiochus* ſent his Embaſſadors to *Rome*, to acquaint the Senate he had executed their Orders with as much Exactneſs as tho 'twere an Order of his Gods. What do you think of *Greece*, tho not one intire Republick like *Rome*, but a knot of ſeveral ſmall Commonwealths, jealous of one another, and torn to pieces by a thouſand Factions? Yet *Greece* in this condition foil'd the mighty Empire of the *Perſians*, and cover'd it with Shame and Infamy; and after having deſtroy'd their vaſt Armys, tranſported into *Europe* to ſubdue its State, carry'd the War into *Aſia*, and made great Conqueſts on 'em. The powerful King *Darius*, after the Misfortune of hearing the *Athenians* had burnt the Capital City of *Lydia*, where his Royal Brother kept his Reſidence, and ordering his Page to put him every Morning in mind of this Affront, had not he the Mortification not only to die unreveng'd, but even much worſe treated in the Plains of *Marathon*? *France* therefore is not ſecure of finding little Oppoſition on the account of its being ſurrounded only by Republicks, but rather becauſe the neighboring

* Valer. Maxim. lib. 6. cap. 4. Velleius Patercul. lib. 1. Liv. l. 45.

States

States are neither Monarchys nor Republicks. They live under certain mix'd Forms of Government, extremely favorable to the King's Deſigns; becauſe when that part in 'em which is Monarchical will have things one way, the part which is Democratical will have 'em another.

Every one knows, that the King of *England* quitted the Triple Alliance in 1672. to the great Grief of his Subjects; and after two Campagns againſt *Holland*, in which the *Engliſh* got nothing but Blows, ſaw himſelf forc'd to a Peace by the Murmurs of his People. What did this King do to be reveng'd of his Parliament? He ne'er wou'd break with *France*, whatever Inſtances his Subjects made, repreſenting the Kingdom and Church of *England* in apparent danger, unleſs a check were put to the Growth of *France*, by a more vigorous Oppoſition than that of the Allys. He laugh'd at their Remonſtrances, and diſſolv'd 'em in anger. At laſt he ſeem'd reſolv'd on a Rupture in 1678. and then the Republican Party wou'd not come into it, apprehending that under color of a formidable Preparation for the War againſt *France*, he might attempt the eſtabliſhing Popery and Arbitrary Power in the three Kingdoms. This Diviſion, which in all appearance will be a ſource of endleſs Conſpiracy and Cabal, ſince Religion, the great Engine for moving the Populace, is concern'd, will be exceeding favorable at long run to the Deſigns which *France* may form; and has not been unſerviceable to the concluding the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, ſo ſhameful to the Confederates, and ſo glorious to our Nation, that 'twere hard to parallel it in Story.

SECT. CCL. *The Advantages of the Peace of* Nimeguen *to* France.

THE King gave the Peace there without receding from one Article of the Project he had order'd to be printed ſeveral Months before; whereas the uſual way was inſiſting on a thouſand points in hopes of obtaining one. He took care to have every Foot reſtor'd to the *Swede* which he had loſt in the Scuffle, and left *Germany* the regret of not being able to mortify a Prince, who had ſuſtain'd our Intereſts with ſo high a hand. By this he let thoſe Princes of the Empire underſtand, who might one day have an Inclination to enter into his Alliance, that they might with Impunity. What the Elector of *Brandenburg* had conquer'd in *Pomerania*, he wreſted out of his hands with ſo much ſcorn, as let all *Europe* perceive the Glory of this Elector was no way agreable to the principal crown'd Heads of *Germany*, which, if well improv'd, might anſwer ſeveral good Purpoſes. In ſhort, he forc'd the Allys to conclude each a ſeparate Peace, which ſo imbitter'd 'em againſt one another, that they mutually wiſh'd each other at the Devil. To this day ſome of 'em han't forgot their Reſentments, but are more inclin'd to ſide with *France* than againſt it; Spleen carrying it manifeſtly againſt their true Intereſt. By this one ſees how much it's for the King's Advantage to have Neighbors which are neither Republicks, nor Monarchys, tho ſome among 'em give themſelves a more Monarchical Air than that of King.

SECT.

SECT. CCLI. *A Reflection on the Form of Government in* Germany.

I Shall never forget the Humor of a Lawyer of your Acquaintance, who fell into a strange Passion one day at the Abuse of the word *Empire*, as apply'd to *Germany*; and certain it is, that never Word was more unfortunately coupled. 'Tis apparently the most monstrous Constitution now on Earth, as Mr. *Puffendorf* has plainly prov'd under the Name of *Monzanhanus*: and when I consider it has for all this subsisted a long time under an innumerable Multitude of Sovereign Princes, not yet agreed about Place and Precedence, and who postpone Debates of greatest Importance to the publick Welfare, to fraction the part which each Deputy is to have in each Affair; when I reflect on their Disputes, and the long and immortal Deliberations of the Diet of *Ratisbon*, I'm convinc'd Pope * *Urban* VIII. was not altogether wrong in saying, *That the World in a great measure govern'd it self.* I mean, in spite of all that Men can do to ruin their Affairs, there's notwithstanding a superior Providence which †directs 'em. Have you never heard this Quibble, Sir, *That while the* French *are making*

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* A dominare non bisogna altrimente tanto ingegno, perche il Mondo si governa in cierta maniera da se stesso. *Mr. Le Vayer lettre* 140.

† Scilicet est aliquid quod nos cogatque regatque
Majus, & in proprias ducat mortalia leges.
Manil. Astron. l. 4.

good

good chear on the Rhine, *and the* Turks *in* Hungary, *the* Germans *are at their Diet at* Ratisbon? The meaning's very juſt, and ſad was the Experience on't during the laſt War between the Emperor and Turk. *Neuhauſel* was taken in the firſt place, the Infidels had ravag'd ſeveral Provinces; his Imperial Majeſty had quitted the City of *Vienna*, to ſave himſelf at *Lints* with all his moſt valuable Effects and the publick Regiſters: All this, I ſay, was already over and paſt, while nothing paſt at *Ratisbon* but Diſputes of no moment, Umbrages, Jealouſys, and mere Formalitys, without any other Fruits of their many Deliberations, than their departing from the Diet, more divided and more unreſolv'd than when they met.

SECT. CCLII. *The Inclination of the Jeſuits to the Intereſts of* France.

IX. AMONG the many Advantages on the ſide of *France*, we likewiſe reckon that Devotion which the Jeſuits expreſs for its Intereſts. While *Spain* was the moſt renown'd Power of *Europe*, the Jeſuits were all *Spaniards*, thoſe born at *Paris* or at *Rome*, as well as thoſe born in *Old Caſtile*. Ever ſince the Declenſion of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the Proſperitys of *Lewis* the Great, they are all *French*; at *Rome*, at *Vienna*, at *Madrid*, as well as in the College of *Clermont*. In thoſe Days the Libertys of the *Gallican* Church appear'd not to them well founded: they never left writing for the Rights of the Pope againſt thoſe of our Kings. One might fill a Library with the Defences compos'd by the Society, againſt which the Parliament of *Paris*, and the

Sorbon

Sorbon publish'd Sentences of Condemnation. At present his Majesty has not trustier Pens than theirs in his Differences with the Pope. 'Tis now the Court of *Rome*'s turn to censure the Books of the Reverend Fathers. It seems the King's Prosperitys have afforded 'em new Lights, which all their Librarys were unable to do before; and, like those Edicts which P. *Maimbourg* * says, pour into the Souls of Hugonots a Conviction of the true Religion, have clear'd their Understandings to perceive Truths which they once judg'd incomprehensible. Yet 'twere wrong to accuse 'em of Inconstancy on this score, for 'tis not the Society which changes its Mind, but Fortune which changes its Favorite: And after all, who sees not that this is conforming to the Scriptures †, which allow not our having a continuing City on Earth? Now the King's having gain'd the Jesuits to his side all over *Europe*, is no inconsiderable Advantage. Their Credit runs high in more Courts than one, and by their good Address they may contribute mightily to lay aside all Deliberations opposite to his Majesty's Designs. The Ambition of Lording it in those Places which shall be conquer'd by the *French* Arms, and having a Protector so powerful, and so affectionate as the King, who may make their Order flourish in spite of Enemys, in spite of Jealousys, and maintain it in more Lustre than the Princes who govern at present: This Ambition, I say, is enough to drive 'em into all Intrigues which may be favorable to our Affairs. If we believe the *Chronique Scandaleuse*,

* *Epist. Dedicat. of his* Hist. Luther. † Heb. 13. 14.

they han't been unſerviceable in this laſt War, and perhaps contributed to our Victorys no leſs than the Activity of our Generals. The World ſays, they are profound Politicians; and one of the three famous Sermons preach'd on the Beatification of St. *Ignatius* in 1609. gives this Elogy to the Society, "That it reckons above ten "thouſand five hundred and eighty Religious, "ſo skill'd in the Art of Government, that even "among their Lay Brothers ſome may be cho-"ſen fit to read Lectures to the Chancellors "of *Grenada* at *Vailladolid*, ay marry and to "the whole Privy-Council. And 'tis ſaid, their General diſcourſing one day at *Rome* with a certain *French* Nobleman told him, * *Look ye, Sir, From this Chamber, From this Chamber*, repeating it twice over, *I govern not only* Paris, *but* China; *not only* China, *but the whole World*; *tho no body living can imagine how, or which way. Veda il Signor D. di queſta Camera, di queſta Camera, io governo non dico Parigi, ma la China; non gia la China, ma tutto il mondo, ſenza che niſſuno ſappia, come ſi fa.* Poſſibly tho, what's ſaid of their Abilitys and mighty Credit, mayn't be all true. There are few things which are not exaggerated.

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* *See the* Morale Pratique des Jeſuites, *printed at* Cologne, 1669. p. 50, 51.

SECT.

SECT. CCLIII. *Of certain Prophecys which promise the King great Conquests.*

X. AMONG the favorable Dispositions which open the King a way to Universal Monarchy, are reckon'd, in the last place, several Prophecys, which promise the King of *France* the Empire of the World. One of these Prophecys is to be met with in the ninth Tome of the Works of St. *Austin*, in the Treatise of *Antichrist*, suppos'd to be written by St. *Austin* himself, or by *Rabanus Maurus* Arch-bishop of *Ments*. We find another in a Commentary on the Revelations, compos'd by *David Pareus* a Protestant Divine, which he says he found in the House of the President of a Collegiate Church in *Germany*. 'Tis an old Tradition among us, that there's an old Tradition among the *Turks*, which threatens the Destruction of their Empire by the *French*. The great Qualitys of our Monarch persuade so strongly, these Prophecys relate to him, that even the * Mathematicians are come into the Notion. Many believe it a kind of Sin to doubt it after the Revelations of the famous *Drabicius*, who has propheſy'd so many strange things against the Emperor, and in favor of *France*. Now great Enterprizes can't possibly be begun under Presages more favorable than Revelation and Promises from on high. Thus every thing seems to invite the King to a new War.

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* *Mr. Colliers in his new Doctrine of Comets, printed in* 1665.

SECT. CCLIV. *Pretentes which the King might raiſe, to lay hold of the favorable Diſpoſitions which Fortune offers him.*

I Had one with me t'other Day, who reflecting on all theſe happy Diſpoſitions, ſtood amaz'd that the King wou'd not lay hold of 'em. What hinders, ſays he, his taking in the reſt of the *Spaniſh Low Countrys*, and poſſeſſing himſelf without more Ceremony of what lies convenient to him in *Germany?* Is it that his Majeſty wou'd not give the leaſt cauſe of complaint? But how comes the Blockade then, and the taking of ſome Places whoſe Situation render'd 'em the moſt advantageous for incommoding us in a new War? Whence ſo many ſtale Pretenſions, on which his Majeſty founds a legal Right, firſt by his Judges, and afterwards by his Soldiers? This they complain of all over *Europe*; and ſince they will be complaining for complaining ſake, better give 'em a good ſubſtantial Reaſon all at once, than ſo many trifling ones. If the King has no mind they ſhou'd complain, perhaps he does too much; if he does not value their Complaints, he does too little. Is it that he wou'd not be the firſt in breaking the Peace of *Nimeguen*, but expects the *Spaniards* ſhou'd begin? If that be the matter, we ſhall have the longeſt Peace that ever was: for the *Spaniards* will ſwallow a thouſand Affronts rather than declare War; well knowing, that the Hoſtilitys of one Campagn wou'd be more fatal than a hundred Decrees of the Chamber of Reunion, or all the Inſults by which we endeavor to tire their Patience, and provoke 'em to a Rupture. Is it that his

his Majesty wants a plausible Pretence to declare War against his Neighbors? But here, Sir's, one ready to his hand, and the most specious Pretence in the World. The *Spaniards* make their Complaints in all the Courts of *Europe*, and even publish in their Pamphlets, that *France* has committed several Infractions of the Treaty of *Nimeguen*. This is the most outragious Injury in Nature. A private Gentleman who's charg'd with violating his Oath, waits not for a critical time to right himself; and all the World commends his seeking Reparation for such an Outrage. By much a stronger Reason, a Prince accus'd of infringing a Peace which he has solemnly sworn, has a right of taking his Revenge by the way of Arms, the only way which Sovereigns can make use of. So that if his Majesty waits only for a reasonable pretence to renew the War, here's one you see at his Service: and as little a Man as I am, I'll engage in two days time to draw up the finest Manifesto in the World, at least much a finer than that in 1672. founded only on the Ingratitude of the *Hollanders*; since it's certain the ungrateful don't wound our Honor near so much as those who give us the Lye. Ingratitude is no doubt an execrable Vice: Yet no Laws, as I remember, have ever declar'd a Punishment for it, except those of the * *Medes*. And to what purpose shou'd there be Laws against the ungrateful, since no one dare take his Remedy without forfeiting the Merit of his Benefit? "He makes himself odious who re-" proaches kind Offices, of which the Receiver

* Xenoph. Cyrop. l. 1. Seneca de Benef. l. 3. c. 6.

" ſhou'd never be unmindful, tho the Benefactor " ſhou'd ne'er make * mention of 'em. † The " only Puniſhment of Ingratitude is, its being " condemn'd by all the World; the Crime is not " acquitted: but as 'twere difficult to ground Ac- " tions on a caſe of an uncertain nature, it's " branded with a publick Odium, and ſtands " among the things we refer to an All-ſee- " ing Juſtice. Yet this hinders not, but Sove- reigns who have Rights incomprehenſible to the reſt of Men, may call a neighboring State to account for its Ingratitude, as appears by the War of 1672. And this being the Caſe, how much more reaſonable to revenge the *Spaniards* publick Charge of Prevarication againſt his Majeſty, ſince this is an Injury, againſt which the Laws provide a Remedy for private Partys?

SECT. CCLV. *Reaſons for not laying hold on theſe favorable Diſpoſitions.*

YOU talk at your eaſe, reply'd I to my merry Blade; you're not to anſwer in the ſight of God, either for the Declaration of a War, or the Miſerys which attend it. But when a Prince, fill'd with Piety and the Love of God, meditates

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* Odioſum ſané genus hominum officia exprobrantium, quæ meminiſſe debet is in quem collata ſunt, non commemorare qui contulit. *Cicero in Lælio.* † Hoc frequentiſſimum crimen nuſquam punitur, ubique improbatur. Neque abſolvimus illud, ſed cum difficilis eſſet incertæ rei æſtimatio, tantùm odio damnavimus, & inter ea reliquimus quæ ad vindices Deos mittimus. *Seneca, Ibid.*

on

on the Precepts of his Religion, he ne'er has a Thought whether 'twere an eaſy matter to ſeize his Neighbor's Dominions, or get this or that Manifeſto drawn up, but whether he can go on ſuch an Enterprize with a good Conſcience; and concludes it's more his Intereſt to leave all People in the quiet poſſeſſion of their Right, than provoke a God who will puniſh the greateſt Kings for the abuſe of their Power, in a manner infinitely more ſevere, * than they puniſh little Gentlemen who tyrannize over their Vaſſals.

For this Reaſon, notwithſtanding all the favorable Conjunctures which tempt his Majeſty to undertake the Conqueſt of *Europe*, I ſhou'd not bet ten to one that there will ſoon be a general War, or that *France* ſhall have all the Succeſs which Fortune ſeems to promiſe. For beſides what I juſt ſaid of the Piety of our Monarch, I make no doubt but his excellent Senſe, and inſight into Hiſtory, will inform him of the inſtability of Fortune. What the *Scythians* repreſented to *Alexander* is very right; and had not Death ſnatch'd away this Conqueror in the flower of his Youth, he might perhaps have bin in Circumſtances to cry out, O *Scythians!* as *Craſus* cry'd, *O Solon!* Fortune, which has been compar'd to ſo many things, may in my mind be rightly com-

* Vos quibus Rector maris atque terræ
Jus dedit magnum necis atque vitæ,
Ponite inflatos tumidoſque vultus.
Quidquid a vobis minor extimeſcit
Major hoc vobis Dominus minatur.
Omne ſub regno graviore regnum eſt.
Senec. in Thyeſt. Act. 3. *Sc. ult.*

par'd to a ſmooth ſmiling Sea, which yet is brewing † Miſchief and Tempeſts at bottom. Fool who truſts it.

Mène ſalis placidi vultum, fluctuſq; quietos
Ignorare jubes? Mène huic conſidere monſtro?
Æneam credam quid enim fallacibus Auſtris,
Et cœli toties deceptus fraude ſereni.

The King we know has not yet been trick'd by Fortune. But ſo many other great Princes have, who ſoon or late ſaw a reverſe of their Glory, that the ſureſt way is to venture nothing on fair Appearances. For he who miſcarrys, not only runs the hazard of being neither prais'd nor pity'd, but expoſes himſelf to the Laſhes of Conſcience, to the Murmurs of his own People, and the Inſults of Strangers. All *Europe* with pleaſure beheld the ambitious Enterprizes of the Houſe of *Auſtria* diſappointed (I hint at this the oftner, that we might take warning by ſo freſh an Example). The Victorys of *Guſtavus*, the Triumphs of the *French*, the Revolt of *Catalonia*, the Loſs of *Portugal*, made all the World laugh, and tell 'em aloud, *they richly deſerv'd it*. All ſaw the Growth of the Republick of *Holland* with pleaſure, which having given the firſt ſhock to this formidable Power, weaken'd it day after day, by its Conqueſt of ſeveral Towns, by ſeveral naval Victorys, by its Commerce eſtabliſh'd in all Parts of the World, by the unparallel'd bravery of the Princes which commanded its Armys,

† Ubi luſerunt navigia, ibi ſorbentur. *Seneca.*

and

and the conſummate Prudence of the States General. And cou'd it be foreſeen that this Republick ſhou'd one day be the greateſt Support of tottering *Spain*, and ſhou'd make appear that it had not enter'd into War by any Motives of Ambition, but purely to preſerve its own Liberty, and a Ballance between the Powers of *Europe*: Cou'd this, I ſay, be foreſeen, I queſtion whether 'twou'd be ſo kindly taken (but People ne'er give themſelves the trouble of ſo remote a Thought, as where they whoſe preſent Proſperity is a Terror, may hereafter find ſhelter in their Diſgrace). And we are ſeldom laviſh of our Applauſes to thoſe who are equally ready to ſuſtain or humble the ſame Power, according as it grows weaker or more formidable. In a word, when People bring Miſchiefs on themſelves, they are ne'er pity'd; but where unfortunate in a juſt Defenſive, there they have a thouſand Sources of Conſolation. Why ſhou'd not we think his Majeſty enters often into Reflections of this kind?

Why ſhou'd not we ſuppoſe, he diſcovers by the ſtrength of his own Judgment, that he ought to be ſatisfy'd with the Glory he has acquir'd, and not eaſily hazard it? As the World's made, it always judges of a Hero's Actions by the laſt he performs. If after gaining ſeveral Victorys, he happens to loſe a Battel or two, they talk no more of his Good, they remember only his ill Fortune. The true Reaſon why *Ceſar*, * the more he had ex-

* Non niſi tempore extremo ad dimicandum cunctatior factus eſt, quo ſæpius viciſſet eo minus experiendos caſus opinans, nihilque ſe tantum acquiſiturum victoriâ, quantum auferre calamitas poſſet. *Suet. in Ceſ. cap.* 60.

perienc'd

perienc'd the Favors of Fortune, the leſs was he inclin'd to fight; judging with good Reaſon, that a new Victory added to all his old, wou'd not do him near ſo much ſervice, as the loſs of one Battel wou'd do him prejudice. It's the buſineſs of young Hero's, who have not yet eſtabliſh'd a Reputation, and of your *biſognoſi d'honore*, as the *Italians* call 'em, to ſeek occaſions of ſignalizing themſelves; it's their buſineſs to make 'em Enemys right or wrong, to make a Parade of their Forces: but when once arriv'd to a high Reputation, how right is it to ſtop there!

Why may'nt we believe, that his Majeſty with all that good Senſe of his, and having ſufficiently diſcover'd what his Great Soul and military Proweſs is capable of, deſigns to immortalize himſelf by Methods wholly new, and in reality infinitely more deſerving praiſe than Victorys and Triumphs? Theſe new Methods, this Path to ſolid Glory, is leaving *Europe* in repoſe, at a time when he might eaſily overrun it; this is making a Conqueſt o'er himſelf † more glorious than that of Empires, and ſetting a bright and tranſcendent Example of Vertue which no Age affords. Now from whom can we expect ſo rare an Example with ſo much Juſtice, as from a King like ours, whom God has diſtinguiſh'd by ſo many miraculous ways? For whom ſhou'd the Glory of ſhewing the World the real Difference between a

† Omni adeo triumpho depoſitus triumphus clarior fuit, adeo ſpreta in tempore gloria interdum cumulatior redit. *Liv. l.* 2. *Dec.* 1.

——Magnum delata poteſtas.
Majorem contempta probat—— *Claud.*

King

King who adores the true God, and Infidel Princes, be reſerv'd for all this while, but for him who is eldeſt Son of the Church, cloth'd by hereditary Right with the glorious Title of *Moſt Chriſtian?* He ſhou'd be guided by Reaſon alone, enlighten'd by Faith; they govern'd by the Inſtinct of their Paſſions. But alas! Chriſtian Princes, to the ſcandal of Chriſtianity, ſeldom follow any better Principle; and 'tis long, very long ſince the Chriſtian Religion has produc'd any excellent Patterns: 'twere time it produc'd one truly illuſtrious. Nothing cou'd be more ſo, than *Lewis the Great*'s renouncing all the Triumphs which Fortune now preſents him. Why ſhou'd not we believe that the King deſigns to go to Glory by this way? What Bleſſings, what Praiſes might he not expect from his Neighbors, from thoſe who are yet unborn, from lateſt Poſterity; if taking no advantage of the Weakneſs of *Spain*, nor the Partiality of *England*, and the Factions which divide it, nor the Irreſolutions of *Germany*, nor the Troubles of *Hungary*, which the *Turks* will ſurely make their uſe of; his Majeſty ſhou'd ſuffer the States of *Europe* to live peaceably all under their own Laws! Thus all the dazling Thoughts and Turns which our fineſt Wits have ſtudy'd to ſet forth the Moderation of our invincible Monarch, might be approv'd by the whole World: at preſent they are only *French* Truths, which our Neighbors don't agree in. We may pretend what we pleaſe in *France*, that the Treatys of *Aix la Chapelle* and *Nimeguen*, are the pure Effects of his Majeſty's Moderation, who put a ſtop to the courſe of his Victorys when no body elſe cou'd; they'l not allow it, beyond the *Alps*, or beyond the Sea, or beyond

yond the *Rhine*, or beyond the *Pyrenees*. And yet being the Object of Praiſe in theſe Foreign Parts, is what ſhou'd principally be aim'd at; for be a King's Actions what they will, he's always ſure of Praiſes, during Life at leaſt, among his own Vaſſals. The true Praiſes of a Prince, are thoſe which his Enemys are forc'd to publiſh; and therefore Mr. *Balzac* writing to a great Wit of *Holland*, and ſignifying his eſteem for *Frederick Henry* Prince of *Orange*, thought he comprehended all in theſe few words: *I wiſh him a Glory his Enemys may be forc'd to allow, and which mayn't be conteſted him even in the* Spaniſh *Hiſtorys.*

SECT. CCLVI. *A Reflection on what has been obſerv'd of certain Prophecys in favour of* France.

AS to the old Traditions, or Prophecys, which 'tis pretended promiſe the Conqueſt of the World to one of our Kings, he muſt have a mean opinion of *Lewis* XIV. who imagines him capable of undertaking the leaſt Affair on ſuch a Motive. The King has too much good Senſe not to look on all theſe pretended Revelations as vain and viſionary; and is not ignorant that for one Prince who ſucceeded by building on ſuch Imaginations, ten have been ingag'd in raſh and unfortunate Enterprizes. I remember to have read in the Hiſtory * of the *Cruſades*, that they paid dearly at the Siege of *Jeruſalem* for giving the Aſſault, "upon the Advice

* Hiſt. de Croiſades par le P. Maimbourg. l. 2.

"of

" of a Hermit who liv'd with the Reputation of " great Sanctity in a Cave of Mount *Olivet*, and " promis'd Victory to the Chriſtians on the part " of God, preciſely upon ſuch a Day, tho they " aſſur'd him they had nothing in readineſs for " the Enterprize. But they ſoon found, *as* P. " Maimbourg *juſtly obſerves*, that in all kind of " Affairs, eſpecially thoſe of War, 'tis dan- " gerous forſaking the Rules of Art and Pru- " dence, blindly to follow the ways of Revela- " tion, which are not much to be rely'd on, " becauſe often falſe; and tho poſſibly they " might be true, no one's oblig'd to believe " 'em without invincible Proof. Without this, " we are always oblig'd to follow that Reaſon " and common Senſe which God has given us, " next after his Divine Word, as the Rule of " our Conduct. The ſhame of being guilty of ſuch an Error, in preferring the Viſions of a poor Hermit to the known Rules of War, made *Godfrey* of *Bulloigne* wiſer for the future.

We need not go out of the Hiſtory of the *Cruſades* for Inſtances of Prophecys, which have miſerably deceiv'd thoſe who rely'd on 'em; but 'twill ſuffice to conſider what hapned to St. *Bernard*. This great Man having receiv'd an Order from Pope *Eugenius* III. to preach up the 2d *Cruſade* in 1145. did not fail promiſing a thouſand happy Succeſſes to the Princes who ſhou'd ingage in ſo holy an Expedition. The great Reputation of his Sanctity making his Promiſes conſider'd as ſo many Divine Inſpirations, was the occaſion of more Peoples liſting for this Voyage to *Jeruſalem* than ever were known to do before or after. Some will even have it, that he confirm'd his Promiſes by many extraor-

extraordinary Miracles. But * *P. Maimbourg* leaves us at full liberty whether we'l believe 'em or no; and 'tis likely, that Part's falſe, becauſe there ne'er was a more unfortunate Expedition than that which was undertaken upon the mighty hopes given by St. *Bernard*. The poor Knights of the *Cruſade* cou'd not forbear complaining † that he had run 'em by his falſe Predictions on a fatal Precipice. What Anſwer did he make 'em? 'Tis with great reluctance, Sir, that I open my ſelf on this Subject; however I'l venture for once. Inſtead of frankly confeſſing he had been firſt deceiv'd, he ſav'd himſelf by the pitiful ſubterfuge of conditional Promiſes; giving 'em to underſtand, that when he firſt foretold the happy Succeſs of the *Cruſade*, 'twas to be taken with this neceſſary Condition, that the Soldiers did not provoke the good God by a Licentiouſneſs of manners. Tell me, Sir, is not this mocking the World, to ſet up for a Prophet, and foretel what ſhall never come to paſs, without mentioning a ſyllable of what ſhall really happen? Either St. *Bernard* ſhou'd ne'er have pretended to foretel future Events, or he ſhou'd have foretold the very Diſorders into which the Soldiers were like to fall, inſtead of promiſing imaginary Victorys which were ne'er to happen. My mentioning this, is principally in anſwer to thoſe who alledg the Treatiſe of *Antichriſt* inſerted in St. *Auſtin*'s Works, and remarkable for a magnificent Prediction in favour of one of our Kings: for if the Prophecys deliver'd by St. *Bernard* were

* Hiſt. Croiſade, l. 3. † Ibid. l. 4.

no

no better than Illusions fatal to the Christian Powers, what a folly wou'd it be in us to flatter our selves with the Empire of the World on the Word of *Rabanus Maurus*, or even that of St. *Austin* himself?

But, say they, the *Turks* themselves have a Prophecy, which threatens 'em with the Sword of *France*. Another Dream! 'Tis true, ever since the Tenth Century there has been a Prophecy current among those of the Bishop *Hippolitus*, which assures us, that it is not by the Hands of the *Greeks* that the Infidels are to be destroy'd, but by the *French*. 'Tis true likewise, we owe this Prophecy to *Luitprand* the Wise and Learned Bishop of *Cremona*, in the Relation of his second Embassy to *Constantinople*. 'Tis further very true, that the *Saracens* were marvelously encourag'd by this Prophecy in the Battel which they gain'd in *Sicily* in 963 over the Troops of *Nicephorus* Emperor of *Constantinople*. It's true in the last place, that the *R. P. Maimbourg* *, on whose Credit I take all, says, "There are undoubtedly many Predic-
" tions of this kind, and time alone can discover
" whether they be true; nor can this be, till the
" *French*, who united as they now are under one
" of the greatest Princes that ever reign'd, are
" capable of executing this great Design, are not
" hinder'd by foreign Wars, and by unjust
" Leagues, which for their just defence divert
" 'em *(when our Jesuit wrote these Lines)* from so
" glorious an Enterprize. I'm willing to allow

* Hist. du Schisme des Grecs, *l.* 3.

the

the truth of all this; yet I don't allow we ought to take the Prophecy for true.

For, I. it's certain, the Infidels mention'd in this Prophecy, are the *Saracens* and not the *Turks*. The *Turks* were not known to the Weſt in the tenth Century, but 'twas ſadly haraſs'd by the *Saracens*; and for this Reaſon ſome good Souls, to comfort the Chriſtians of thoſe days, promis'd 'em that an Empire founded in the Weſt by a King of *France*, ſhou'd deſtroy that Infidel Nation, or promis'd themſelves as much by the benefit of an overheated Imagination. Now as the Event has ſhewn the falſeneſs of this pretty Prophecy, ſince it's certain the Empire of the *Saracens* was neither deſtroy'd by the *French*, nor the Emperors of the Weſt, but by the *Turks* and *Tartars*; who can imagine with any ſhadow of Reaſon, that the Prediction ſhall be accompliſh'd in the deſtruction of the *Ottomans*? And were not he an errant Fool, who ſhou'd declare War with the *Port* on the ſtrength of this Promiſe?

II. It is not very certain, that the *Turks* have any Prophecy among them, which threatens their Subverſion by the *French*: For were it really ſo, how is't poſſible thoſe *Greeks* who told Mr. *Spon*, the *Ottomans* had a Prophecy * importing the Overthrow of their Empire by a Nation, *Chryſogenos*, that is with fair Hair, ſhou'd be ignorant of this other Prophecy ſo honorable to our Nation? This was a very favorable occaſion for mentioning it: So that Mr. *Spon* taking no notice on't, we have ground to think he heard no-

* Voyage du Levant, Vol. I. p. 270. de l'impreſſ. de Holl.

thing

thing of it in his Travels in *Turky*; a Preſumption, this pretended Prophecy is current only among our own good People in *France*. Beſides, it's evident, this fair Nation, ſo fatal to the *Turk*, cannot be ours. Mr. *Spon* takes it to be the *Muſcovite* or *Ruſſian*: he ſhall have it.

But, ſay ſome to me, Tho you're too good a *Frenchman* to wiſh our carrying the War as far as *Turky*, on the ſtrength of ſome favourable Prophecys; you'l at leaſt allow *Dabricius* a ſtanch Prophet, in promiſing us mighty Conqueſts in the Empire. I anſwer, that tho I mean not to imitate our Poets and Orators, who from time immemorial have been urging our Princes to the Conqueſt of *Conſtantinople*; yet I can't forbear wiſhing that our Invincible Monarch won'd in his own Wiſdom think fit to undertake this mighty Work. I only ſay, 'twere nonſenſe to reckon upon the pretended Traditions which promiſe us Succeſs: And as for *Dabricius*, it's plain, that none but the Enemys of *France* can believe, either that ſhe looks on him as a Perſon divinely inſpir'd, or that ſhe's capable of going on any Project to put his Prophecys in execution. For can Men be ſo Catholick as the King's Privy Council, and believe that a Proteſtant Miniſter had receiv'd the Gift of Prophecy from God? Can Men have ſuch a Zeal as the King's Council ſhews for extirpating Sectarys which diſown the Pope, and yet prepare for fulfilling the Prophecys of *Dabricius*, which import, as the World ſays, that the ſame King of *France* who's to ruin the Houſe of *Auſtria*, is to deſtroy the Pope too Root and Branch? No one can harbor ſuch Thoughts as theſe with-

out making a Judgment very injurious, not only to the King's Inclinations, and to thoſe of his Miniſtry, but to their Senſe of Religion alſo.

The Proteſtants themſelves are not ſo generally ſatisfy'd that *Dubricius* was a Prophet. Nay, many of 'em are perſuaded he was a mere Phanatick, who by too long poring upon ſome Commentarys on the Prophecys of the Old Teſtament, and thoſe of the Revelations, actually turn'd his Brain: And having fill'd his Imagination with Scripture Ideas, cou'd look on the Emperors of *Germany* only as ſo many *Pharaohs*, *Sennacheribs*, *Nebuchadnezzars*, and Servants of the Great Whore, *made drunk with the Wine of the Anger of her Whoredom*; till he came at laſt to perſuade himſelf, that God had appointed him to give ſeveral Princes a ſpecial Command to deſtroy theſe Perſecutors. They who ſuffer'd under their Perſecutions, and imagin'd that Divine Providence wou'd ſoon or late revenge ſo barbarous a Conduct, are the likelieſt to rely on the Viſions of *Dubricius*. Yet theſe for the moſt part lay but little ſtreſs on 'em, eſpecially ſince by ſad experience they had found he was miſtaken, and that he often contradicted himſelf notoriouſly, and in a manner not to be reconcil'd but by flying to various Gloſſes; which make the Incredulous laugh much more, than a frank confeſſion of the Man's Miſtakes: for by Gloſſes of this kind, multiply'd as occaſions require, there's no falſe Prophet but may be fairly brought off. A poor buſineſs, Sir, this of Revelations for a Man to put his truſt in, were they thoſe of St. *Gertrude*, St. *Hildegarde*, or St. *Bridget*; when you very well know that Authors

Authors perfectly Catholick *, and Religious to boot, have boldly arraign'd the Prophecys of these Saints, on the most convincing Exceptions. 'Twere a pretty thing indeed, to see *France*, under so wise an Administration as 'tis at present, embark in a War with *Germany* on the Visions of *Drabicius*. Thus the favorable Dispositions pretended to be drawn from Prophecys, are far from persuading me, that we shall soon begin again to conquer.

Sect. CCLVII. *Whether* Europe *has more Reason to enter into a general Confederacy now than heretofore.*

BEsides, Who has told us that *Europe* will always lie dozing, as she do's at present? I own, tho she has her Fears of *France*, and fancys she spys something, I don't know how, in her Conduct, very much resembling what we have observ'd of the *Spaniards* heretofore; yet all lie close, no one will venture to stand the first Brush: which puts me in mind of the Fable of the Rats and the Cat. This Lethargy is the more surprizing, as they can't be ignorant that it's much easier for the King to execute his great and vast Design of Universal Monarchy, than heretofore for the Emperor, and King of *Spain*: all the Strength and Forces of *France* being united under one Head, who goes forth himself with his Armys; is fortunate, brave, politick; without a Power

* Henricus de Hassia Sibyllanus, Franc. Picus Mirandulanus apud M. Delrio, Disq. Magic. l. 4. c. 1. quæst. 3. sect. 4.

to awe him, ſo formidable as this Kingdom to the *Spaniards* in the time of their good Fortune. Theſe Advantages the Houſe of *Auſtria* was ever deſtitute of, either in part or in whole. When almoſt all its Forces were united in the Perſon of *Charles* V. a Prince of great Courage and extraordinary Capacity; yet his Dominions lay at ſuch a diſtance, and ſo ſeparated, that they cou'd not readily lend one another a helping-hand: and beſides, *France* had then a *Francis* I. brave as Steel, who alone cut out as much Work for *Charles* as he cou'd well turn his Hand to. On the other hand, *Soliman*, Emperor of the *Turks*, was a terrible Neighbor to the Hereditary Countrys: And the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, animated by that Tranſport of Zeal, which is never wanting for a Religion, while piping-hot from the Anvil, were a curſed Thorn in *Charles*'s Foot. The Caſe was much worſe after the Retreat of this Emperor. His Eſtates were diſmember'd; they who poſſeſs'd 'em, liv'd a long time in a kind of miſunderſtanding, which weakned both Partys: The Diſtance between *Vienna* and *Madrid*, wou'd not allow their concerting Things with that diſpatch which is neceſſary for great Enterprizes; and between Friends, the Succeſſors of *Charles* were nothing leſs than Hero's. Yet *Europe* was in a high Ferment, *Europe* form'd Leagues; *Europe* in the end fell upon 'em at ſuch a rate, twitting 'em with their Pride and Ambition, that they brought 'em down to a pretty good Level. And at preſent, when ſhe looks on the Danger as much greater, ſhe's content to look on. All this I know, Sir; yet I'll lay no Bets on our Conqueſts. The People are like a Sea,

Sea, which works terribly after the deepest Calm. One Man is sometimes enough to rouze half the World, and * bring over Fortune to his side.

Sect. CCLVIII. *Whether Leagues are to be fear'd.*

VERY *well*, says you; *let 'em League on as long as they please; Leagues are no such Kill-Cows: They are Bodys with a hundred thousand Arms, and which by having too many Heads, have none at all. You know the Apologue of the* Turkish *Envoy, and the little account he made of Confederate Troops, in comparison of those under one absolute Head.* I own, Sir, it's an inestimable Advantage to have an Army commanded by a single Person; and 'tis a Circumstance very favorable to our King's Designs, which I have not yet taken notice of, That those who oppose him, are only Quota's of Troops commanded by different Persons, with their several private Views, and perhaps opposite Interests. It's well for us, we had such Armys to deal with in the last War; for had the Allys kept a good Understanding among themselves, we had surely been balk'd, notwithstanding the King's good Conduct, and the Bravery of his Troops. But 'twas the good Fortune of *France*, that they cou'd never set their

* Tantum in uno viro fuit mentis, ut maximi imperii subversi, & rursum recepti Auctor esset; & undè stetisset eò se victoria transferret, fieretque cum eo mira quædam fortunæ inclinatio. *Justin. lib. 5. de Alcibiade.*

Horses together. Their Councils of War were so many pitch'd Battels. They were so many Defiances, reciprocal Complaints, Jealousys, Maggots. Some wou'd much rather lose a Battel, than see it gain'd by a General they hated. Others, to merit the continuance of their Pensions, gave the worst Advice they cou'd. We needed all this, Sir, towards having that Success which attended us: For, as I have often already observ'd, the Victorys one Party gains over t'other, can never be of much Consequence, unless there be a great Disproportion between their Forces. Now what makes this Disproportion, is not always that of greater Numbers, but greater Oversights committed of one side than t'other. This made us an Overmatch for the Allys; the variety of their Interests and Sentiments, leading 'em into infinite Oversights, while the King administring his own Affairs with a superior Understanding, committed none. Twice or thrice were they guilty of that great and capital Error, which *Hannibal*'s * reproach'd with, of not knowing how to make the most of a Victory.

* Florus. lib. 2. cap. 6.

SECT. CCLIX. *Overſights of the Allies during the laſt War.*

IN Effect, Mr. *de Montecuculi* in 1673. gain'd ſuch an Advantage over Mr. *de Turenne* without ſtriking a Stroke, that the Court of *France* thought it ſelf very happy in coming off with the Loſs of the Country of *Cologn*, and of moſt of the Places which we held in *Holland*: ſo well they knew it had been an eaſy matter to do us much more miſchief. It happen'd luckily for our Affairs, that the *Germans*, a little over-haſty in going into Winter-Quarters in their own Country, refus'd to ſecond the Ardor and good Judgment of the Prince of *Orange*, who had ſo much contributed to the Taking of *Bonn*. Two Years after, Mr. *de Montecuculi* having had the Glory of ſeeing Mr. *Turenne*'s Genius truckle to his, and of mauling our Troops in their Retreat, cou'd not puſh his Advantage, either becauſe Old Age had render'd him unactive, or that ſome civiliz'd Perſons in the Court of *Vienna* had us in their Thoughts. However it be, he contented himſelf with refreſhing his Army on this ſide the *Rhine*, while Mr. the Prince acted a Part very diſagreeable to a Genius ſo full of Fire, being forc'd to lie behind Retrenchments, and with the Ruins of an Army, behold the Imperialiſts walking about, and taking their Pleaſure in *Alſace*. There was a farther Overſight committed by thoſe who beat Mr. *de Crequi* at *Conſarbrik*; for inſtead of advancing on our Frontiers, while all was in Conſternation, they amus'd themſelves the reſt of

the Campagn with the re-taking of a * Town we cou'd very well ſpare 'em. The *French* made no ſuch Blunders. So we are not to wonder if the Affairs of the Allys went but ill; they were baffled by their own unhappy Conduct, while the ill Conduct of their Enemy made 'em not the leaſt amends. Which yet generally happens in moſt Military Operations, as Mr. *de la Rochefoucaut* † juſtly obſerves upon our laſt Civil Wars: *Both Partys were at laſt convinc'd, that neither had underſtood its true Intereſt. The Court, which Fortune alone had ſupported, made a great many falſe Steps; and 'twas evident in the Iſſue, that each Cabal ſubſiſted more by the Overſights of that which oppos'd it, than its own good Conduct.*

SECT. CCLX. *Conſiderable Effects of ſome Leagues.*

YET for all this, Sir, don't imagine that Leagues are always to be deſpis'd. I cou'd entertain you a long time, did I relate all the great Exploits they have perform'd. Who got the famous Battel of *Lepanto?* A League form'd againſt the Turk. The *Sultan* deſpiſes not Leagues, ſo much as his Envoy wou'd make us believe, with his Apologue of the Dragon with many Heads, and many Tails. In the Heat of our League in *France*, the Grand Signior offer'd his Aſſiſtance to *Harry* IV. for this Reaſon principally, *That he had a natural Averſion to the word League.* And whence ſprang his Averſion? From

* *Treues.* † *In his Memoirs.*

a lively

a lively Idea of the old Armaments againſt himſelf, which were call'd by this Name. This diſagreeable Idea rendred all Leagues and Confederacys odious to him, according to the Remark of an * ingenious Author in a ſmall Treatiſe *of the Uſefulneſs of Hiſtory*, which abounds with excellent Reflections. The League I ſpeak of, which was enter'd into in this Kingdom for the Excluſion of a Hugonot King, did it not gain its Point? Did it not make, not only *Harry* III. but even *Harry* the Great buckle, who was one of the higheſt-ſpirited Princes upon Earth? Was not he forc'd to abjure his Religion? And were it not for this, had not he been a wandring King in his own Kingdom? Hadn't he been all his life expos'd to the ſame Condition, in which he repreſents himſelf in his Letter from before *Amiens* to the Marquis *de Roſni*? † *I'll freely tell you the Straits I'm reduc'd to: I'm very near the Enemy, and have ſcarce a Horſe to charge on, nor whole Furniture to clap on his Back: My Shirts are all in Rags; my Doublet out at the Elbows; my Pot ſcour'd and laid up, and for two Days paſt I have din'd and ſup'd ſometimes with one Friend, and ſometimes with another; My Purveyors proteſting they don't know how to keep my Table any longer, having not receiv'd a Penny of Mony theſe ſix Months.*

Yet this League was a Chaos of a thouſand jarring Paſſions, and Meſſrs *de Guiſe* themſelves not perfectly united. Mr. *de Thou* ‖ informs us, that what moſt contributed to the Duke of *Guiſe*'s

* L'Abbé de St. Real. † Memoir de Roſni, Tom. 1. 345.
‖ Hiſt. lib. 92.

Aſſaſſi-

Aſſaſſination, was the Duke of *Maine* his Brother's betraying his vaſt Deſigns to *Dornano*, and giving him free leave to acquaint *Harry* III. of 'em. Theſe two Brothers came to ſuch Extremitys about a Punk, that they fairly met in the Field. But the Duke of *Maine* thinking better on't, when he ſaw himſelf on the point of killing his Brother, or loſing his own Life, declin'd the Duel. After the violent Death of the Duke and Cardinal, one wou'd think the League ſhou'd have dropt. Yet the Duke of *Maine*, tho travers'd by ſeveral great Men, who had by-Deſigns of their own, ſtill kept it on foot; and 'twas *Harry* IV's Lot to ſubmit. Which is the more remarkable, becauſe this great King was incomparably more active in his Nature than the Duke of *Maine*, and more fortunate in his Pleaſures. For this poor Duke, in the moſt preſſing Juncture of his Affairs, ſuffering himſelf to be drawn * away to the *Hotel de Carnavalet*, "where four or five of "his Friends had a merry Meeting with ſome "Ladys of Pleaſure, hit ſo unluckily, that he "was forc'd to keep his Chamber for ſeveral "Weeks after..... Yet having only time to take "palliative Remedys, the Infection work'd in-"wards, render'd him more unactive, more pen-"ſive and melancholy, and ſunk the Spirit of "the Party in his ſingle Perſon.

Beſides, was it not a League brought the Emperor and King of *Spain* to conſent to the Treaty of *Munſter*, a Treaty ſo full of Mortification for them? And had not *France* made Conceſſions in

* Mezerai Abreg. Chron. ad An. 1589.

favor

favor of the Duke of *Bavaria*, had not they been forc'd shamefully to annul the Translation of the Electorat, in prejudice of the King of *Bohemia*, who was leaga'd against the Emperor? To offer something of more force, don't we know that our invincible Monarch spar'd no Expence to dissolve the last League, which shews he stood in fear of it? Assure your self, Sir, the Peace concluded at *Nimeguen* in 1678, came very seasonably; and League it as long as you please, I much question whether the Campagns of 1679 and 1680, might have been as successful as the preceding.

They who say the King gave Peace to *Europe*, have more Reason o'their side than they are aware; their meaning is, that his Majesty, touch'd with Compassion for his Enemys, who beg'd Peace, was pleas'd to grant 'em this favor at the expence of mighty Victorys, which he might have thank'd no body for. This is all they understand by it, and here's the Ground of all their magnificent Encomiums on the Conqueror's Moderation. But there's one Reason more these Gentlemen don't perceive, tho very obvious, which obliges us to consider the Peace of *Nimeguen* as the King's peculiar Work; That of all the Powers engag'd in the War, there was hardly one but *France* which desir'd an End on't. The House of *Austria* broke off the Conferences of *Cologne* in the most disobliging manner imaginable, and threw in a thousand Difficultys and a thousand Delays to obstruct those of *Nimeguen*. While *France*, which was generally believ'd to be weary of the War, had Patience enough to overlook all the little Incidents which were started day by day.

After

After the Battel of St. *Denys*, where the Prince of *Orange* ſo vigorouſly attack'd our Army, and with ſo conſiderable an Advantage, who wou'd not have believ'd the Peace intirely broken? Who'd have undertaken that we were a People of ſo much Moderation and cold Blood, as we ſhew'd our ſelves on that occaſion? The Allys expected nothing leſs at our hands. They flatter'd themſelves with the hopes of keeping on the War, as they ardently deſir'd; and yet have a pretence of ſaying, that 'twas *France* hinder'd the Concluſion of the Peace. They were highly ſurpriz'd to find, that the Affront which Mr. *de Luxembourg* receiv'd, was not like to hinder the Treaty of *Nimeguen*'s taking full effect.

Whence cou'd this proceed, Sir, but from the King's great Deſire of diſſolving the Confederacy, againſt which he had maintain'd the War for a long time? This laſt Bruſh, inſtead of diminiſhing this Paſſion, fortify'd it mainly, becauſe it made him more clearly comprehend the Importance of not letting ſo brave, ſo great a Captain as the Prince of *Orange* lie on the Frontiers every Seaſon; who tho but indifferently ſeconded by the Allys, nay often travers'd by ſome of 'em, ſtill acted for the Preſervation of the *Netherlands*, with all the Intrepidity and good Conduct imaginable. Conſider on the whole, whether we ought to deſpiſe Leagues. Since his Majeſty has ſhewn a reſpect for 'em; and ſince he forgets nothing to prevent the forming any to his own prejudice, and to promote ſuch as may be at his Devotion, they muſt needs be formidable.

SECT.

Sect. CCLXI. *We ought not to reckon too much on the preſent State of Affairs.*

WHAT therefore ought to raiſe and ſwell our Hopes, is the Reſignation of *Europe*. I call it Reſignation; becauſe the Patience ſhe expreſſes, ſhews her intirely reſign'd to what it ſhall pleaſe God to ordain concerning her Deſtiny, without dreaming of new Leagues or Confederacys. Yet even this is not to be intirely rely'd on. Once more; there needs only one politick, active Spirit to make a hundred ſeveral Nations take up Arms.

Who'd have imagin'd, while *Europe* trembl'd at the Name of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the Councils of our Kings were fill'd with its Penſioners, that there ſhou'd be a young Student in the *Sorbon*, who ſhou'd one day ſap this mighty Power, and ſo bait it with Enemys on all ſides, that at laſt it ſhou'd come reeling with its Noſe to the ground? Yet this was really the Caſe, as the great Cardinal *Richelieu* has made appear, one of the powerfulleſt Genius's of the Univerſe. And how know we, but at this very Hour ſome young Lord, ſcarce yet out of the Duſt of a College, is deſtin'd to be a Scourge to *France* before twenty Years come about?

Dii prohibete minas, Dii talem avertite Caſum,
Et placidi ſervate pios. Virg. Æn. 3.

SECT. CCLXII. *The Concluſion of the Work.*

HERE I ſtop, Sir, wondering at my ſelf, when I caſt back my Eyes on the exceſſive length of this Scroll; and much more when I think of the ſtrange Medley which runs thro it. For what have I not talk'd of? What ſtrange Set of Thoughts have I not crouded together, taking ſometimes what I had read in Books, ſometimes what I had heard in Converſation, ſometimes what my own ſmall Stock furniſh'd. You'l eaſily perceive in the whole much the ſame Irregularity, as is obſervable in Citys; which being built at different times, and repair'd ſometimes in one place, ſometimes in another; one ſees a little Houſe pricking up by a great one, an old one by a new. Juſt thus, Sir, has this Miſcellany of various Reflections been huddled together; I have often turn'd back to make Additions and Amendments, now in one place, now in another. You'd eaſily gueſs ſo much by the firſt Work; but you'l find it much plainer by examining this Copy, which I muſt deſire you, Sir, to go by. I conſider'd 'twou'd be ſome Eaſe to you in the reading, ſhou'd I divide it into ſhort Sections; and therefore made all the haſte I cou'd with this Edition. I have made ſeveral Additions, and might make a great many more, but that I think it better to wait for your learn'd Obſervations. I ſhan't be ſurpriz'd if you accuſe me of having advanc'd ſeveral crude and undigeſted Notions; for I can with the utmoſt Sincerity aſſure you, that when I firſt ſat down to write, I did not know what I ſhou'd

shou'd say at the third Page; and that almost all I have said occur'd as I wrote to you, without my ever having had a Thought on't before in the whole course of my Life. And tho I prepar'd you in the beginning for some such confus'd Miscellany, I vow I did not my self believe I shou'd keep my Word so strictly. Perhaps you mayn't be displeas'd to see what this Work may be reduc'd to if one cut off the Digressions: cast your Eye on what follows, and you'l see I have taken the pains to make an Abridgment, out of pure love to you.

SECT. CCLXIII. *An Abridgment of the whole Work.*

TO bring the Dispute into a narrow compass, I say, if Comets were Presages of human Calamitys, this must be either as they are an efficient Cause of 'em, or as they are bare Signs only. There's no denying this.

Now they are not Presages, either as they are efficient Causes, or as they are the Signs of Calamitys. The Conclusion's obvious, if I prove both Branches of this Proposition.

The first Branch I prove by four Reasons.

I. Because maintaining, that Comets are the efficient Cause of Wars, new Religions, Conspiracys, and such like Plagues of human Society as depend on the free Will of Man, and the Concurrence of a thousand fortuitous Cases, is not only a Heresy, but even the grossest of all Absurditys, as I have sufficiently made appear.

II. Because there's no Argument *a priori*, in the Language of Philosophers, proving, that Comets have

have any Virtue of producing physically, either a Famine, or Mortality, or any thing of the like Nature.

III. That it's false, this Point may be prov'd by any Arguments *a posteriori*, that's to say, by Arguments drawn from Experience. For all that can be prov'd from Experience, amounts at most but to this; That as oft as Comets have appear'd in the Heavens, so often some great Calamitys have ensu'd on Earth. Which is so far from proving that Comets have been the Cause of these Calamitys, that one may as well prove a Man's going out of his House in a Morning is the Cause of such Multitudes passing along the Streets that whole day. In a word, it's wretched reasoning to conclude from one thing's constantly following another, that therefore it's the true Effect of that other. The falling of a Stone which one has jerk'd into the Air, constantly and necessarily follows the Action of him who cast it; and yet this Action is not the efficient Cause of the Stone's descending. But there's something more still in our case; which is, that Experience proves not, there have been more Calamitys after the Appearance of Comets than at other times: and to pretend the contrary is pure illusion, and pure mistake in point of Fact. One need only consult the Annals of the World without prejudice, to be convinc'd of what I say.

IV. Because had Comets a virtue of causing a Pestilence, or Famine, as they are Causes which act necessarily and without respect of Persons, they must without distinction ravage all parts of the Earth o'er which they move, or to which they are visible in making the Tour of the World, which

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is notoriously false. If it be said, that they don't every where find the necessary Dispositions for producing such an Effect; I shall take leave to say, they can for that very reason presage nothing certain: for how know we upon seeing 'em, whether any part of the World shall then have the Dispositions which Comets require? One is not oblig'd to believe they forbear shewing themselves, till the Causes which concur with their Influences, are ready and rife in any part of the World.

The other Branch of the Proposition, to wit, that Comets presage not Calamitys, as Signs of those Calamitys, is plain from the following Reasons.

I. Because Comets are neither a natural Sign of Calamitys, nor a Sign by Institution.

For were they a natural Sign of Calamitys, it follows they must either be a necessary Cause of 'em, which we have shewn to be false; or at least that there must be a necessary Connexion between Comets and Calamitys: which is equally false, because Experience, the only Rule for justifying this pretended Connexion against all the Reasons which oppose it, proves nothing less. Every one's capable of satisfying himself in this Point, and of seeing at the same time, how very wrong we are in boasting of our Reason, when it's of so little service to us, that almost all the World's ingag'd in a Perswasion void of every kind of Proof, as well in point of Fact as Reason.

That Comets are not Signs of Calamitys by Institution, is evident in it self; God having no where reveal'd, as he has with regard to the Rainbow, that he wou'd give us Blazing-Stars in the Heavens, as Warnings of his extraordinary Judgments.

II. Becauſe, were Comets the Sign of any Calamitys different from natural and inſtituted Signs, 'twere fit God ſhou'd imprint on 'em ſome peculiar Characters, to diſcover what they imported, no leſs diſtinctly than an expreſs Revelation; which might juſtify the Judgment of thoſe who maintain they are evil Preſages, and render thoſe inexcuſable who believ'd it not. Now this Almighty God has not done: On the contrary, he has left 'em ſo deſtitute of all the true Marks of a ſignificative Prodigy, that one might juſtly think he rather deſign'd to check our natural Credulity. He has ſubjected 'em to the Juriſdiction of the Sun, which diſpoſes of the ſituation of their long Tails, as it does of the ſmalleſt Cloud; and to that of the Fogs and foul Sky, which deprive us of the ſight of 'em for half the time. He ſometimes gives 'em a Courſe which leads into the Rays of the Sun, where they become wholly inviſible: Sometimes gives 'em ſo little Magnitude, or ſo high an Elevation, that they are viſible to none except perhaps an Aſtronomer or two, who wait whole Nights with their beſt Teleſcopes for a ſight of 'em. Then again he often lets 'em appear fairly, and allows us a conſiderable time to view 'em, as if he'd render 'em familiar, and permit us to ſtudy their Motions. But above all, he gives 'em a Character of Univerſality, which alone is ſufficient to deprive 'em of the Quality of Signs; for God having never had a Purpoſe of afflicting the whole Earth at the ſame time, has ſurely never given us Signs of ſuch a Purpoſe. Yet if Comets be preſaging Signs, they muſt be Signs of this nature, becauſe they threaten all Nations alike. And hence it's plain, did

Men

Men make the leaſt uſe of their Reaſon, that theſe are not menacing Signs, becauſe it's not likely all who ſee Comets ſhou'd be afflicted, and becauſe the conſtant Courſe of the World has been, for one Nation to be a gainer by the Spoils of another: God, beſides this, never affecting to ſignalize his Judgments in the Years which ſucceed next after Comets, more than at other Seaſons; and yet this is the Point, without which 'tis impoſſible Comets ſhou'd have the leaſt pretence to denounce future Evils. A particular Nation might very well happen to be more diſtreſs'd at ſuch a time than ever before or after, as it hapned in *France*, after the appearance of ſeveral Comets, under the Reign of *Harry* III. and in the beginning of his Succeſſor's Reign. But it do's not therefore follow, that all Nations conſider'd together were more afflicted at that time, unleſs in the Logick of ſome little Minds, who meaſure the Deſtiny of all Human Affairs by that of the ſmall Community within their knowledg, and who cry out, if a ſhower of Hail fall on their own poor Village, that ſince the World was a World there never was ſo ſad a Year, Seaſons ſo unfortunate, ſo diſaſtrous. Look at the condition of *Spain* under the Comets which, they ſay, caus'd our Civil Wars: You'l find ſhe then added *Portugal* and the *Weſt-Indies* to her other vaſt Monarchys: That Fortune loaded her with Favors, and that her King was ſaid to govern the World with his Pen.

III. Becauſe after all I have ſaid, were Comets ſtill Signs, they muſt be Signs form'd miraculouſly by God, and enjoyning all Mankind to prepare for appeaſing the Wrath of Heaven; that is, God

muſt have given, and ſtill give Signs to occaſion a hundred million new Acts of Idolatry. Which can't be offer'd without Impiety.

Having prov'd both Parts of my Propoſition, and ſhewn that Comets are by no means what moſt People imagine; I conclude, Sir, that they are Bodys as antient as the World, which by the Laws of Motion wherewith God governs the vaſt Machine of the Univerſe, are from time to time determin'd to paſs within our view, and to reflect the Light of the Sun upon us, modify'd in ſuch a manner as to make us perceive a long train of its golden Locks, whether before or behind their Heads is uncertain; on which you may conſult *Meſſieurs* of the Academy Royal of Sciences. That for any thing farther, their Paſſage into our World is of no conſequence, either good or bad, any more than the Voyage of an *Indian* into *Europe*. With full liberty, however, for all that pleaſe, according to the Inſtincts of their Piety, to mortify at the ſight of theſe Phenomena.

You'l find a ready Handle from this Concluſion, for reconciling the Lights of Philoſophy with thoſe of Conſcience.

I ſubmit the whole Work to thoſe of your Underſtanding; and tho I undertake to anſwer all the Objections you may make, I ſhall however always acknowledg you as my Maſter and Doctor.

Octob. 11. 1681.

I am, *&c.*

The End of the Reflections.

An Appeal to all the Universitys of Europe, *for a Decision of the following Points.*

To the Rectors of all Christian Universitys.

Gentlemen,

I Beseech you in the most humble manner, That you'l be pleas'd to convocate your Academick Assemblys, in order to pronounce Judgment in a Difference, which has made some noise in *Holland* for these two or three last Years.

This Difference is founded on a Book concerning Comets, which I publish'd in the Year 1682. and on a Letter which appear'd soon after, concerning an erroneous Conscience.

In my Treatise of Comets I taught, I. That considering the necessity of a thing's being properly a Miracle before it can be a Presage; and considering the infinite number of Presages, which the Pagans accounted such, and which Christians still observe;

conſidering alſo the Meanneſs of moſt of them, their Obſcurity, their Uſeleſneſs, their increaſing Superſtition and Idolatry: 'Twere better aſcribe what we commonly call Preſages to the general Laws of Nature which God has eſtabliſh'd, than to thoſe particular Volitions in God which produce Miracles.

II. That conſidering the Averſion God expreſſes againſt Idolatry, and his ſtrict Prohibitions, under the Idea of a *jealous* God, againſt this Sin in particular; conſidering alſo that before the Birth of JESUS CHRIST the whole Earth, except *Paleſtine* a very ſmall ſpot of it, was given up to the Worſhip of Idols, it can't be ſuppos'd God ſhou'd miraculouſly produce Comets to warn Men of impending Evils, ſince this had been working Miracles to give new Life to the abominable Worſhip of Idols all the World over; the Pagans being every where perſuaded, that Comets were menacing Signs, and continually redoubling their Sacrifices and impious Ceremonys in honor of the falſe Gods, on the firſt Appearance of theſe Stars.

III. That conſidering the many Abominations of the Pagan Idolatry, and that declar'd Abhorrence of the Prophets againſt it, ſpeaking

ſpeaking to us on the part of God; it is not to be believ'd, that the preſerving this Idolatry leſt Atheiſm ſhou'd abound, cou'd be the propos'd or adequate End or Deſign of God's working Miracles.

IV. That conſidering the natural Proneneſs of Man to Superſtition, the Vigilance of the Devil, and the Intereſt of Prieſts and Magiſtrates to maintain Idolatry; conſidering alſo there are ſundry uncommon Phenomena furniſh'd by an ordinary Providence, in conſequence of the general Laws of Nature; there never was a neceſſity of Miracles to prevent the extinguiſhing of Idolatry, and the general Prevalence of Atheiſm.

V. That conſidering the Idea of *Jealous*, and that of *King*, by which God was pleas'd to manifeſt himſelf to the World; the Crimes and Blaſphemys in which conſiſted the Eſſence of the Gentile Idolatrous Worſhip; the execrable Vileneſs of the falſe Divinitys exalted to the Throne in excluſion of the only true God; we may reaſonably believe, that God was leſs provok'd by thoſe who acknowledg'd no Divinity at all, than by the Gentile World: As a jealous Husband muſt be more ſenſibly griev'd at a Wife that turns errand Proſtitute, than at one who obſtinately renounces all Con-

verſation with Men; or as a King ſhou'd be more incens'd at Subjects who dethroning him transfer'd their Allegiance to a Stranger, than if they intirely chang'd the form of Kingly Government; and at Neighbors who join'd with his mortal Enemy, more than at thoſe who kept themſelves neuter.

VI. That conſidering the infinite difference in point of moral and natural Perfection between the true God and the Pagan Idols, it can't be ſaid that they who knew and honor'd theſe Idols, either knew or honor'd the true God; inſomuch that Pagans were no leſs void of the Knowledg of God than Atheiſts, and paſs'd their whole Life without rendring him any Act of Honor no leſs than they. This the Proteſtants cannot conteſt without ruining their Cauſe againſt the Roman Catholicks in the point of Creature Worſhip, terminating, as they maintain, purely and ſimply in the Creature, without any other relation to God, be the Intention of the Saints Votarys what it will, than as it's diſpleaſing to him in the higheſt degree.

VII. That conſidering the horrible Corruption of Manners which reign'd among the Pagans, and that Inlet to all kind of Violence and Impurity which their Idea of the Principal Deity

Deity set open (they said *Jupiter* gelt and dethron'd his Father, marry'd his Sister, ravish'd a world of young Women, stole away *Ganymede*) considering also the Outrages of the Heathens against their avow'd Divinitys, and the Crimes they were continually committing for and against 'em; there's no reason to think Mankind had been more corrupt in a total State of Irreligion, than in that of the Pagan Idolatry.

VIII. That considering the Doctrine of Original Sin, and that of the Necessity and Inamissibility of Grace, decided at the Synod of *Dort*, every reform'd Protestant is oblig'd to believe, that all, except the predestin'd, whom God regenerates and sanctifys, are incapable of acting out of a Principle of Love to God, or resisting their Corruptions from any other Principle than that of Self-love and human Motives: So that if some Men are more vertuous than others, this proceeds either from Natural Constitution, or Education, or from a Love for certain kinds of Praise, or from a fear of Reproach, *&c.* And if a servile fear of Hell is sufficient to procure an Observance of the Externals of Religion, offering Victims, contributing to the charge of Worship; yet is it not capable of converting the Heart to the true God, by a sincere renouncing of the inward Corruption. IX.

IX. That this being the caſe, nothing hinders but Men without a Religion may live up to the Rules of Civility as well as Pagans; ſince the ſame Principles which mov'd the Pagans may happily meet in them, Temper, Education, Love of Praiſe, and a Fear of Reproach.

X. That conſidering the prodigious numbers of thoſe who live not according to their Principles, who know God forbids Impurity and Falſhood, and yet abandon themſelves to the Luſts of the Fleſh, to Fraud and Slander; conſidering alſo the Agreement obſervable in a world of Chriſtians, between a hiſtorical Belief of the Goſpel and a fearful Licentiouſneſs of Manners, we muſt allow that the Notions of the Mind are by no means the Spring of human Actions; and therefore that the Pagans, with all that general looſe Knowledg which they had of a Deity, might not neceſſarily be in a better State for purifying the Heart, than if utterly void of this Knowledg.

XI. That conſidering what a noiſe has been made in *France* againſt Mr. *Pajon*'s Syſtem, it's impoſſible for a rigid Calviniſt to believe, that having a bare Perſuaſion of Goſpel Truths,

Truths, is ſufficient towards poſſeſſing *ipſo facto* all that's requiſite to the Practice of Goſpel-Morality.

XII. That conſidering the Ideas of Honour and Glory which prevail among Chriſtians, and which yet they don't borrow from the Goſpel; conſidering alſo the Ideas of Honour and Glory, ſo powerful among the Pagans, which yet the Syſtem of their impure Theology did not inſpire, a Man may entertain ſuch Ideas independently of the Belief of a God: he may, for example, apprehend, that an Ingrate deſerves to be blam'd, that a Child deſerves Praiſe for his reſpect to his Parents; as he apprehends, independent of all Religion, that the Whole is greater than its Part.

XIII. That conſidering the modeſt and regular Life of *Epicurus*, *Pliny*, and ſome other Atheiſts, of which Hiſtory makes mention, it can't be ſaid that the Ignorance of a Providence is a neceſſary cauſe of a Corruption of Manners; unleſs we maintain ſuch an Abſurdity as this, that a thing whereof there are ſeveral Examples is yet utterly impoſſible.

XIV.

XIV. That considering these Examples, the force of natural Temper, that of Education, that of the Taste of each particular Country, 'tis absurd to maintain, That an Atheist, of what Temper soever he is, in what Way soever bred, in what Country he lives, is necessarily sunk in all kind of Vice; a Drunkard, Adulterer, Incestuous, Covetous; a Robber, Traitor, an Assassin, a Backbiter, False Witness, Parricide, Poisoner, an Enemy and Persecutor of his own Flesh and Blood: In a word, that he's necessarily more inordinate than any Pagan, of whatever Constitution, whatever Country, or in whatever Way he has bin bred.

XV. That to discover the true difference between the heinousness of one Crime and another, we must not have regard to human Laws, which punish some, and tolerate others, but to this single Circumstance, whether forbidden by God: If so, it can't be committed without the Sinner's running into all that Iniquity which constitutes the Nature of Sin. That the Circumstances which arise from the State of the Sinner, from his Knowledg and Intentions, vary the Turpitude according to the Degrees of more and less; yet that the Evil-speaker and

Unclean

Unclean are as criminal in the Sight of God as the Murderer.

XVI. That the Idea of Order, clearly discovering to us, that the Moral Perfections excel the Physical, and that the more one loves Vertue, the more he prefers it to Life; God, who is sovereignly holy, ought to have (if it be proper to make use of the Differences of more and less with relation to God) a greater regard for his Holiness than for his Authority: and therefore they who represent him sully'd with Vice and Crimes, as the Pagans represented *Jupiter*, wound him in a more sensible part, than they who with *Epicurus* rob him of the Government of the World.

XVII. That Independence being the highest of all the natural Divine Perfections, and that which in the Schools distinguishes God from all other Beings; 'tis a less Error to suppose with *Epicurus*, that God, perfectly happy in himself, interferes not in the Government of the World, than to imagine, as some Pagans have, that the Divinity needs being nourish'd by Exhalations.

This, Gentlemen, is the substance of what I have taught. We have a Minister and Professor

Profeſſor of Divinity at *Rotterdam*, who maintains, That this Doctrine is impious, and alledges it as a notorious proof of Atheiſm. 'Twere wronging your ſublime Judgments, ſhou'd I deſire you to get it ſolemnly declar'd that he's miſtaken in this part of the Charge. There is not a Student in your Claſſes who is not capable of ſparing you this Trouble: And ſeeing the true God is ſo interwoven in all my Doctrines, that he reigns in every part of 'em, he's to be met with in the Principles, in the Conſequences, in the Applications, in the Uſes, *in*, *cum*, *ſub*, as the *Lutherans* expreſs themſelves in another Caſe: What I therefore deſire of you is, that you will give your ſelves the trouble to examine, whether my Doctrine may be ſo much as falſe: I for my part believe it true in the utmoſt rigor, philoſophically as well as theologically with relation to a *Calviniſt*. Shou'd your Deciſions be againſt me, I'm ready to pay 'em all the reſpect they deſerve: Be pleas'd then to let me know, if I am in an Error, how each of my Errors is to be qualify'd; for there are Errors you know of various kinds, the Indiſcreet, the Raſh, the Dangerous, the Scandalous, and the Heretical.

THE END.

THE LIFE OF Mr. Bayle.

IN A

LETTER

TO A

Peer of *Great Britain.*

LONDON;

Printed in the Year M. DCC. VIII.

The Publisher to the Reader.

THE following Account of Mr. Bayle's *Life being ſent from beyond Sea to a* Britiſh *Peer, was communicated to me by a Gentleman who had the opportunity of taking a Copy of it; and there being an Appendix to the ſecond Volume of the* Miſcellaneous Reflections *in the* French, *relating to a Treatiſe written againſt Mr.* Bayle, *which is only a private Diſpute, and no way concerns us here, I thought I could not oblige the Publick more than by giving this Life in the room of it. 'Tis probable, had the Author a Deſign of publiſhing it, he might have left out or ſoftned ſome things.*

THE LIFE OF Mr. BAYLE.

My Lord,

THE manner in which you express your Concern for the Death of Mr. *Bayle*, carrys his Elogy beyond any thing the greatest Panegyrists can say in his Favour; and to me it's no small Consolation to find your Lordship inclin'd to espouse his Memory, at a time when most of his Friends seem to have abandon'd it to the spitefullest stings of Envy and Ill-nature. It's true, my Lord, this is no more than might justly be expected from a Soul so great, so generous

as yours. That kind Opinion with which you had honor'd Mr. *Bayle*, was founded on Motives too ſolid to be ever ſhaken. You admir'd the Beauty of his Wit, and the Juſtneſs of his Judgment; but you were ſtill more charm'd with his Modeſty, his Diſintereſtedneſs, and Integrity of Heart. 'Twas by this part of him that he had the Happineſs of pleaſing you, and (if I may preſume to ſay ſo much) of engaging your Friendſhip. You had given Proofs of it to himſelf on ſeveral occaſions; and you continue to expreſs it farther, by the Commands you have laid upon me of ſending you an Account of his Life. I ſhan't, my Lord, excuſe my ſelf in any Difficultys which appear in the diſcharge of ſuch a Task; I ſhall thank you rather, in the moſt humble manner, for your Goodneſs in preſcribing it to me. 'Twas Mr. *Bayle* procur'd me the Honor of being known to your Lordſhip, and to him I'm oblig'd for all the Favors you have done me. I have long ſought for an occaſion of teſtifying my Acknowledgments to your Lordſhip, and I cou'd never hope for one more favorable than this. I ſhan't therefore heſitate a moment in communicating

nicating to your Lordſhip what Mr. *Bayle* had inform'd me of his own Life, during a courſe of ſeveral years Acquaintance, and what he has left concerning himſelf in ſome Paſſages of his Books. 'Tis true, it all amounts to no great matter: The Lives of Philoſophers ſeldom abound with conſiderable Events; their Writings and their Diſputes are the only Battels and ſounding Actions in the Hiſtory of theſe Heroes. I ſhall therefore chiefly aim at entertaining your Lordſhip with ſome account of the Works which Mr. *Bayle* has publiſh'd, and of the Diſputes he had bin engag'd in, yet without ſetting up either for a Judg or Apologiſt. If I ſometimes chance to take his part, it ſhall only be with relation to Facts, and where the force of Truth won't ſuffer me to be ſilent.

MR. *Peter Bayle* was born in 1648. in a ſmall Town of the County of *Foix*, call'd *Carlat*, of which his Father was Miniſter. His Mother was of the Houſe of *Ducaſſe*, an antient Gentleman's Family, and which makes a very good Figure in that Country. The Miniſters 1648.

were much esteem'd in *France*, as well on account of the regularity of their Manners, as because they were intitled to the same Privileges with the Gentry in Civil Matters: Hence it was that Persons of Quality thought it no Dishonor to breed up their Children to the Ministry. One may even affirm in general, that there was scarce a Minister in *France* who was not of a good Family: And this, my Lord, proceeded from the Protestants having no Colleges in which their Youth might be bred up *gratis*; so that they were oblig'd to send their Children to Academys generally at a great distance, which requir'd a considerable Expence. Upon this account we are not to wonder that the Ministers sometimes marry'd into the best Familys of their Province.

Mr. *Bayle* the Father gain'd the Esteem of every one by his Vertue and exemplary Piety: He was a Man free from Ambition, free from Pride, and of a truly primitive Simplicity. He had three Sons whom he carefully bred up for the Ministry: The Eldest came to be his Father's Collegue in the Church of *Carlat*, and the Youngest died at *Paris*, being only a *Proposant* or Candidate for

for the Ministry. Mr. *Bayle*, who was the second, began his Studys under his Father, who instructed him in the first Rudiments of Literature, and brought him to read some *Greek* and *Latin* Authors: But the Duty's of his Function not allowing him to imploy much time in his Instruction, he was considerably retarded in his Studys, and made not so great a Proficiency as might be expected from him.

When he had Arriv'd to the Age of Eighteen; and his Father saw he had made Progress enough in human Learning to attain a thorow perfection by himself, he entered him in the Academy of *Puylaurens*. He intended he should finish his Studys in this place, and afterwards embrace that kind of Life to which he had from the beginning design'd him. Mr. *Bayle* soon perceiv'd the difference, for a Man of Letters, between a Home-Education and a College. He was over-joy'd to find himself in the Company of several learned Men, who had a great deal of Merit; he propos'd to them a thousand Questions, and they were charm'd at his Assiduity in all the Exercises of Religion, and so struck with the Vivacity of his Genius, that 1666.

they ſoon diſtinguiſh'd him amidſt the other young Scholars of his ſtanding. It's true, his way of Life was much leſs diſſipated than theirs; he often walk'd abroad with thoſe whoſe Humors neareſt ſuted his own: but inſtead of making one in their Partys of Pleaſure, he conſtantly ſhut himſelf up in his Study, and with incredible Ardor read over the beſt antient and modern Books which fell into his hands. *Plutarch* and *Montagne* were his Favorite Authors; and concerning the latter, he us'd to tell his Friends in Mirth, that if all the Copys of his *Eſſays* were loſt to the World, he cou'd retrieve 'em to a Tittle, ſo often had he read 'em over. His Memory was extraordinary happy, and preſented him at the inſtant with any thing he had ever committed to it.

But *Puy-laurens* was too narrow a Scene for ſo vaſt a Genius. How agreeable ſoever this Town appear'd to him at his firſt coming, he began in a ſhort time to diſreliſh it. He had already drain'd the Learned there of their beſt Notions, and did not find Librarys well enough furniſh'd to ſtay his inſatiable Appetite for reading. He reſolv'd to quit the Place, and remove to ſome greater

ted Town; but he was not a little divided in making a Choice. He wou'd very willingly have gone to one of the famous foreign Universitys; but the fear of putting his Father to a burdensom Expence, made him soon give over this Design. At last he consider'd that *Thoulouse* was one of the finest Towns of *France*, that few Places in *Europe* abounded more with learned Men or choicer Librarys, that it was at no great distance from the place of his Birth; and what finally determin'd him, was its having a College where a certain number of the Youth of his County were bred and maintain'd on the Foundation, and which for this reason was call'd the *College of Foix*.

Thither he remov'd after having past about two years and a half at *Puy-laurens*, and made four or five months Progress in Philosophy; and now pursu'd his Studys with incredible Application: But what was extremely afflicting herein to his Family, was, after some time, his changing his Religion. While he study'd Philosophy in the College of *Puy-laurens*, he was not so taken up with the ordinary Exercises as not to find time enough to look into Treatises of 1668.

Contro-

Controverſy, not with the Spirit that People commonly do, to confirm themſelves in preconceiv'd Opinions, but to examine, according to the great Principle of Proteſtants, whether the Doctrine he had ſuck'd in with the Breaſt were True or no, which requires a thorow knowledg of both ſides of the Cauſe: For this reaſon he had the Curioſity of ſeeing the Arguments of Roman Catholicks in their own Writings. He met with Objections ſo plauſible againſt the Doctrine which admits no living Judg upon Earth, to whoſe Decrees the Faithful are oblig'd to ſubmit in all Diſputes about religious Matters; that not able to anſwer 'em ſatisfactorily to his own Reaſon, and leſs able to defend his Principles againſt ſome ſubtle Controverſiſts with whom he had to deal at *Thoulouſe*, he began to think himſelf a Schiſmatick, and out of the way of Salvation, and oblig'd to reunite to the main Stock, whereof he look'd on the Proteſtant Communions as ſo many lop'd Branches. Accordingly reſolv'd, he continu'd his Studys in the College of the Jeſuits, as almoſt all do, of what Quality or Condition ſoever, in all Countrys where the Roman Religion prevails:

But

But the excessive Worship he saw paid to Creatures, appearing to him suspect, and Philosophy informing him more fully of the impossibility of Transubstantiation, he concluded there must be some Fallacy in the Objections to which he had submitted; and taking a strict Review of the two Religions, he recover'd that Light which he had before bin blind to, and stedfastly follow'd it, without the least regard to a thousand temporal Advantages of which he deprived himself, and a thousand vexatious Affairs, which appear'd to him inevitable by cleaving to it.

The Doctors of the College of *Puis*, who soon discover'd Mr. *Bayle*'s fine Talents, were overjoy'd at their Purchase in him, and the Bishop of *Rieux*, in whose Diocess the Town of *Carlat* lay, expreſt a particular Satisfaction at his Change. The Library was always open to him, and no means were neglected to make sure of him; when he form'd a Resolution of quitting the Place with the very first Opportunity, his stay being grown insupportable, since some late additional Reasons had further convinc'd him of the false step he had made. But he was not a little perplex'd how

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to make an honorable Retreat; he was destitute of the necessary Supplys for undertaking a long Voyage, and knew no body to whom he cou'd trust his Design. By good Fortune for him, Mr. *Ducasse de Pradals*, a Gentleman who was his Relation, happned about this time to come to *Thoulouse*, and make him a Visit. Mr. *Bayle* bless'd Heaven which sent him so trusty a Person in such a Juncture; he open'd his Heart to him, and this generous Friend preventing him with Offers of every thing for his Occasions, he retir'd to *Geneva*, after having continu'd about a Year and a half at *Thoulouse*.

1670. You'l easily judg, that such a step as this cou'd not but be very agreeable to his Family. The Grief occasion'd in it by his change of Religion, was recompens'd by an inexpressible Joy and Consolation. The College of *Puylaurens*, which was sensibly concern'd at his Lapse, had no less a share of Satisfaction. No sooner was Mr. *Bayle* arriv'd at *Geneva*, but he edify'd the whole Academy there by the manner in which he mourn'd his Fall, and the Zeal he expreſt for the Reform'd Religion. Mr. *de Normandie*, Syndic of *Geneva*,

Geneva, took Mr. *Bayle* into his Family, to instruct his Children. Mr. *Basnage*, who was then a Student at *Geneva*, hapned to lodg in the same House: He no sooner knew Mr. *Bayle* but he courted his Friendship; and Mr. *Bayle* cou'd not oblige himself more, than by giving his intire Affections to a Person whom he mightily esteem'd, and whose Merit began already to be known.

Two Years after, the Count *de Dhona* inquiring of Mr. *Basnage* for a Preceptor for his Children, he recommended Mr. *Bayle*, who finding himself in a manner perfected in his Studys, accepted the Employment, and had the Direction of the Studys of the Count *de Dhona*, Governor to the Prince Royal of *Prussia*; of the Count his Brother, Major General in the Troops of *Holland*; and of a third Brother of the Family. He stay'd with 'em for about two Years; but growing weary of the Country, he resolv'd for *Paris*, which he look'd on as the Center of Wit and Politeness. Besides, he knew, the Arts and Sciences flourish'd there more than in any part of the World, by the Care the Ministry took of inviting thither, at any expence, all who excel'd in their 1672.

several

several Professions. Constant Conferences were held there on all sorts of Subjects, and Men of Letters had a free and easy Access.

1674. Accordingly he return'd to *Geneva* in 1674. and after he had seen all his Friends, he departed thence with a Relation of *Mr. Basnage*, who study'd there, and took him along with him to *Roan*. Here he staid about six Months, and afterwards proceeded to *Paris*. The Satisfactions he met with in this great Town were much beyond what he expected; so that he could not forbear thinking all the time he had past in other Places, past so much thrown away. *Mr. De Barrillon*, Great Master of the Horse, took him to be Governor to a young Gentleman of his Family.

1675. Mr. *Basnage* was then at *Sedan*, where he finish'd his Studys in Divinity. Mr. *Bayle* wrote to him frequently, giving accounts of every thing that came out at *Paris*, relating to the Sciences or Polite Learning; and Mr. *Basnage* generally shew'd his Letters to Mr. *Jurieu*, then a Divinity Professor in the College of *Sedan*. Soon after a Philosophy Professor's Chair falling vacant, Mr. *Basnage* cast his Eyes on Mr. *Bayle* to fill it, and

and mention'd him to Mr. *Jurieu* who promis'd to serve him. Mr. *Basnage* wrote to Mr. *Bayle* to come immediately to *Sedan*: but he excus'd himself at first, apprehending that his change of Religion, which was a Secret to all in those parts but Mr. *Basnage*, might come to be discover'd, and a Pretence, grounded on the Edict against relaps'd Persons, be taken to bring him into trouble, and perhaps all the Reform'd of *Sedan*. Mr. *Jurieu* was surpriz'd at the Reluctance which Mr. *Bayle* express'd, and desir'd to know the meaning on't; Mr. *Basnage* told him the true reason, and he assuring him of his Secrecy, said it ought not to hinder his standing for the Chair. Several stood Candidates at the same time, and among others the Son of one of the Professors of the College, who had a strong Party for him; but as Mr. *Basnage* had a great many Friends in that Party too, particularly Mr. *du Rondel* Professor in Divinity, he doubted not but Mr. *Bayle* would carry it from all the Competitors as soon as he had an opportunity of shewing himself. In effect, Mr. *Bayle* disputed with so much Eloquence and Force, and discover'd such a Quickness of Apprehension,

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and ſo extraordinary a Penetration, that the whole Body of the Academy judg'd him the Victory, and receiv'd him into the Number of its Profeſſors.

Since your Lordſhip is pleas'd to deſire a Character of Mr. *Jurieu*, who has made ſo much noiſe in the World, I ſhall here begin to deſcribe him, ſuch as he then betimes diſcover'd himſelf. He had a lively Wit, a rich and happy Imagination, and a manner of writing very agreeable; but withal turbulent, proud, raſh, imperious, poſitive, and abounding with a high Conceit of himſelf. Fill'd with the Idea of his own extraordinary Talents, he ſnatch'd greedily at all Occaſions of excelling, and giving himſelf Airs above the reſt of the World. But the Heat of his Imagination ſometimes confounded his Judgment, and the Impetuouſneſs of his Temper hurry'd him to Practices diſhonorable and unworthy a Man of his Profeſſion. Two or three Paſſages in his Conduct had ſufficiently diſtinguiſh'd his Character. Mr. *Pajon*, Miniſter of *Orleans*, and his intimate Friend, a Perſon of rare Merit and of an admirable good Underſtanding, had form'd a Syſtem on the Operations

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of Grace, which look'd new, but was in the main reconcilable to the Doctrine of Predeſtination, as underſtood by all the Churches of *France*. Yet Mr. *Jurieu*, jealous of every thing which ſeem'd to eclipſe his Glory, enter'd into a Cabal with ſome Miniſters of *Paris*, who had no Kindneſs for Mr. *Pajon*, and did all he cou'd to ruin him. Mr. *D'Huiſſeau*, Miniſter of *Saumur*, having publiſh'd a Treatiſe concerning *The Reunion of Chriſtians*, tending to beget a Spirit of mutual Charity and Toleration, Mr. *Jurieu* wrote an Anſwer to it with a great deal of Gall and Violence. Mr. *D'Huiſſeau*'s Maxims were far from reliſhing with his Palat. The Spirit of Gentleneſs and Moderation is the Bane of a proud and cholerick Nature; and Toleration reducing Men to a kind of Equality, can't fail being the Averſion of Perſons ſpiritually proud, and who look down with Contempt on the reſt of the World. Beſides, how digeſt a Doctrine which proſtitutes the Favors of Heaven, and bereaves of the ſweet Perſuaſion of being the Confidants of the ſecret things of God, and the ſole Defenders of his Cauſe?

Cauſe? Not to be of theſe mens Religion, is in ſhort being of no Religion at all. Accordingly Mr. *Jurieu* expreſly declares, *That God had from that time call'd him forth to fight with this Monſter of Indifference for all Religions.* Yet he had no great Reaſon to boaſt of his Undertaking againſt Mr. *D'Huiſſeau*; the beſt Judges found his Reaſonings pitiful, and the dear Work was unfortunately condemn'd in the Synod of *Saintonge*, as containing heretical Propoſitions. This was his firſt Trial of Skill, and he has taken care not to bely it in his after Performances. The Vehemence of his Paſſions has often run him into extravagant Notions, and put him upon maintaining ſeveral Propoſitions either falſe or contradictory; and the warmth of his Imagination ſometimes repreſented things to him quite otherwiſe than they were. I cou'd give inconteſtable Inſtances of this; but I chuſe to ſuppreſs them, and am willing to draw a veil over ſome civil Affairs, in which he was indiſcreetly embark'd, and ſome Law Suits mov'd by him, contrary to all Juſtice and Equity, which oblig'd him to a Journy to *Paris*, and which he wou'd not ſo

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eaſily have got clear of, if he had not to deal with Perſons of much more Prudence and Moderation than himſelf. I'll only take notice, that Mr. *D'Huiſſeau* was no leſs his Friend than Mr. *Pajon*. But 'twas his way with all that were deareſt to him: He pick'd ſome quarrel or other the moment he apprehended 'em as his Rivals in Glory, or ſaw they did not eſpouſe and applaud him in every thing. Then he fell foul of 'em, and endeavor'd to blacken their Reputation with a Charge of Heterodoxy. Thus the Fondneſs of his Soul made him treat his Boſom Friends. *Theſe Gentlemen*, ſays he himſelf, *whom I then attack'd with all my Might, were my Neighbors and beſt Friends; and never was there the leaſt Miſunderſtanding between us.*

Every one may plainly ſee to what Hazards a Body expos'd himſelf by making ſo terrible a Friend as Mr. *Jurieu*; and no doubt if Mr. *Bayle* had known the Man, he'd always have ſhun'd his Converſation with as much Care as he once ſeem'd to court it. But the Uprightneſs and Simplicity of his own Heart wou'd not ſuffer him to entertain Suſpicions of this kind. Ever ready to judg charitably, he did not

make it his buſineſs to ſift Mr. *Jurieu*'s Conduct, nor thorowly to examine its ſecret Motives. 'Tis true too, Mr. *Jurieu*'s lofty intractable Humor ſeem'd incapable of withſtanding Mr. *Bayle*'s extreme Modeſty and Sweetneſs of Temper. His Manners were ſo obliging, his Conduct ſo regular, and his Diſcourſes ſo diſcreet and moderate, that Mr. *Jurieu* cou'd not forbear giving him his utmoſt Eſteem and good Wiſhes. *He liv'd*, ſays he, *ſeveral years in the Academy of* Sedan, *without giving the leaſt Offence, either in Word or Deed. His bright Genius, and worthy Principles ſo engag'd my Affections, that I lov'd him, I own, more intirely than I ever lov'd any one beſides.* You ſhall ſee, my Lord, that Mr. *Jurieu* in proceſs of time wou'd not have Mr. *Bayle* exempted out of the number of thoſe *beſt Friends* of his, whom he perſecuted unmercifully.

1679. While he was taken up with the Buſineſs of his Place, a Miniſter of his Acquaintance, in 1679. brought him Mr. *Poiret*'s Book, entitl'd, *Cogitationes Rationales de Deo, Anima, & Malo*; and deſir'd him to communicate the Difficultys which might occur to his thoughts

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in the reading. Mr. *Bayle* examin'd this Work carefully, and ſent his Objections againſt it to his Friend, together with a Letter of Thanks. The Miniſter communicates 'em to Mr. *Poiret*, who wrote an Anſwer to 'em, and ſent it him with a Letter, in which he thanks him for having procur'd him an Adverſary, ſo accurate, ſo judicious, ſo penetrating, and ſo Gentleman-like a Writer. Theſe Objections, and the Anſwer, are inſerted in a ſecond Edition which Mr. *Poiret* gave of his Book at *Amſterdam*, in 1685.

The next Year after, a Jeſuit of *Caen* call'd *P. de Valois*, under the feign'd name of *Louis de la Ville*, printed a Treatiſe at *Paris*, entitl'd, *The Sentiments of Mr.* Deſcartes *concerning the Eſſence and Propertys of Body, repugnant to the Doctrine of the Church, and favoring the Errors of* Calvin *in the point of the Euchariſt.* He dedicates it to the Clergy of *France*, and exhorts the Biſhops ſpeedily to apply a Remedy to the growing Evil with which the Church was threaten'd by the *Carteſians*: He conjures 'em, in the Name of the whole Kingdom, to pronounce Sentence of Condemnation againſt Carteſianiſm; and to engage 1680.

'em the more, by a Reaſon he knew was all-powerful over their minds, he told 'em of an Order of Council, baniſhing the *Carteſian* Philoſophy out of the Univerſity of *Paris*, and of a Letter under the Privy Seal, ſilencing a *Carteſian* Profeſſor. This Book alarm'd the whole Sect; Mr. *Regis* a famous *Carteſian*, who held conſtant Conferences at *Paris*, was forc'd to break off, and add this Diſgrace to that of never having been able to obtain a Licence for printing a Body of Philoſophy, which had lain by him of a long time. Every one dreaded being oblig'd to ſign ſome new Formulary, or to be excommunicated for Hereſy.

Mr. *de la Ville*, not content to overthrow the Opinion of the new Philoſophers touching the Nature of Body by the Authority of Councils, endeavor'd to confute it by Arguments from Reaſon; and, to do him juſtice, he ſays the utmoſt that can be advanc'd to prove Extenſion is not the Eſſence of Matter. 'Twas on this Article Mr. *Bayle* encounter'd him, who aiming at bringing his Pupils to maintain rational Theſes, took for his Subject that Chapter of Mr. *de la Ville*'s Book,

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in which he endeavors to prove by natural Reasons, that Extension is not the Essence of Matter. And because Mr. *de la Ville*, to compass this end, does little more than enervate, as much as possibly he can, the Reasons by which Messieurs *Clerselier*, *Rohault*, and the Author of the *Search after Truth*, have maintain'd that Extension is the Essence of Matter; Mr. *Bayle* contents himself with corroborating the Reasons of those Gentlemen, and destroying all Mr. *de la Ville*'s Exceptions and Subtelties. He bends his greatest Strength to prove, that the Penetration of the Parts of Matter is impossible.

Mr. *Bayle* had this Dissertation reprinted in *Holland*, with some other curious Pieces, of which I shall take notice in their proper place.

The Comet which appear'd in this month of *December* in the same year, furnish'd him an occasion of writing a new Treatise. As People had an extraordinary Opinion of his Knowledg and Judgment, he found himself continually seaz'd with Questions concerning it, proceeding either from Curiosity or Fear. He did all he could to quiet those who were disturb'd at this pre-

tended evil Presage, but gain'd very little on 'em by Philosophical Reasonings. Still they reply'd, that God expos'd these strange Phenomena o' purpose to give Sinners time to prevent their impending Ruin by Repentance. So he thought 'twou'd be in vain to reason any longer, unless he cou'd produce some Argument to shew that the Divine Attributes permitted not the destining Comets to such an end. He apply'd himself to meditate upon it, and quickly lit on this Theological Argument, *That if Comets were Presages of Evil, God had work'd Miracles to confirm Idolatry.* He did not remember he had ever met with it in any Book, or heard it in Conversation. This made it appear to him perfectly new, and gave him the first thought of writing a Letter on the Subject, to be inserted in the *Mercure Galant*. He endeavor'd not to exceed the bounds of such a Letter; but the Abundance of Matter wou'd not permit his being short enough, and oblig'd him to take other measures, and look on his Letter as a Piece which must be publish'd apart. He affected Brevity no longer; he enlarg'd at his leisure on every thing that

offer'd,

offer'd, ſtill keeping Mr. *Viſe* in ſight. He reſolv'd to ſend him his Letter, and pray him to give it to his Printer, and get either Mr. *de la Reinie*'s Licence, if that might ſerve, as it had for printing ſeveral other Treatiſes on Comets; or the Royal Privilege, if nothing leſs wou'd do. He kept the Manuſcript in his hands for ſome time, without knowing the Author's Name; and when one call'd on him to inquire about it, he anſwer'd, That he underſtood by a Perſon who had read it over, that Mr. *de la Reinie* wou'd ne'er anſwer for the Conſequences of it; and that the Approbation of Doctors muſt be had, before they ſollicited a Royal Licence; which was a tedious painful Undertaking, for which he had not leiſure enough. His Friend recover'd the Manuſcript: And as the Suppreſſion of the Academy of *Sedan* was the occaſion of Mr. *Bayle*'s removing to *Holland*, he thought no more of printing his Letter on Comets at *Paris*.

The King of *France* having reſolv'd 1681.
by little and little to extinguiſh the Reformation in his Dominions, began ſome time before to ſuppreſs the Academys belonging to the Proteſtants:

That

That of *Sedan* had the ſame fate with the reſt. Mr. *Bayle* being out of buſineſs, reſolv'd to quit the place, and make a trip to *Paris*; where he arriv'd without knowing whether he ſhou'd go on to *Rotterdam*, where he had ſome hopes given him of an Eſtabliſhment, or go over to *England*, or continue in *France*. Before he left *Sedan*, the Count *de La Bourlie*, who was Governor, and who had a very particular eſteem for Mr. *Bayle*, omitted nothing that might engage him to turn Catholick. He let him in a word underſtand, *That 'twas wholly in his own power to make his Fortune, and that 'twas full time for him to think on't.* Mr. *Bayle* abſolutely rejected the Propoſition. He was ſoon after call'd to *Rotterdam*, and procur'd a Settlement for Mr. *Jurieu* in the ſame Town, as you ſhall ſee, my Lord, in the Account I'm going to tranſcribe; and which may ſerve to give a juſter Idea of the Spirit of this Miniſter.

The College of *Sedan* was no ſooner diſſolv'd, than Mr. *Jurieu*, much concern'd at the loſs of the beſt part of his Fortune, began to look out for a better Income than that of Miniſter, which was ſtill left him. His firſt

Thought

Thought was to acquaint the Visitors of the College of *Groningen*, that if they had such a place to give him as they offer'd him formerly, he was ready to accept it. But the Prayers and earnest Instances of Mademoiselle *Mary du Moulin* his Aunt, a Person of great worth, seconded by those of several other good People of *Sedan*, prevail'd on him to promise he wou'd not forsake his Church, at a time when it stood in greater need of its Pastors than ever. But as his proud peevish Temper had render'd him very odious to the Roman Catholicks of *Sedan*, and his affecting to distinguish himself by Starts of Zeal, which did the Reform'd a deal of prejudice, had provok'd some of the Magistrates against him; he resum'd the Design of getting away betimes: and remembring the *Walloon* Church of *Rotterdam* had formerly desir'd him for their Minister, he turn'd his eyes that way. Mr. *Bayle*, who had expectations in the same Town, by the Favor of a Magistrate, procur'd him by one of his Friends, was overjoy'd at this Overture; and so earnestly engag'd his Friend in this Affair too, that he prevail'd on the same Patron to send a Vocation

cation to Mr. *Jurieu*. Mr. *Bayle*'s Friend was one Mr. *Van Zoelen*, a young Gentleman of *Rotterdam*, and a Relation to Mr. *Van Zoelen* Burgomaſter of the ſame Town. This young man had lodg'd with Mr. *Bayle* at *Sedan*, improv'd himſelf conſiderably in his Studys by his Converſation, and had entertain'd a thorow Friendſhip for him; ſo that the very day the Order for ſuppreſſing the Academy came to *Sedan*, he took a Reſolution of ſending it to Mr. *Paets*, his Relation, one of the Counſellors of the City of *Rotterdam*, a very learned and conſiderable Perſon, and a Lover of Men of Letters. He let him know by the ſame Poſt that Mr. *Bayle* was out of Buſineſs, ſaid a great many kind things of him; and receiv'd an Anſwer expreſſing a great Inclination to ſerve him. Mr. *Bayle* wrote upon this occaſion a Letter to this worthy Perſon; who ſoon after return'd him an Anſwer, That the Town of *Rotterdam* had granted him a Penſion, with a Licence to teach Philoſophy there.

Mr. *Van Zoelen* and Mr. *Bayle* had left *Sedan* before the Arrival of this Anſwer, the latter to go to *Paris*, the other to go ſtrait to *Rotterdam*, and ſollicit Mr.

Mr. *Jurieu*'s Affair in Perſon, which Mr. *Bayle* had earneſtly recommended to him. He ſpoke on't to his Relation in ſo preſſing a manner (for Mr. *Bayle* had, among other things, cleverly inſinuated, that he muſt loſe no time for fear other Employments ſhou'd offer for Mr. *Jurieu*) that this illuſtrious Magiſtrate beſtir'd himſelf immediately to remove all Obſtacles. There was none at all with regard to Mr. *Bayle*; ſo the Letter wrote him by Mr. *Paets* ſignify'd, that his Buſineſs was ſettled, and Mr. *Jurieu*'s in a fair way. Mr. *Bayle* then being at *Paris*, Mr. *Jurieu* receiv'd the Letter; but inſtead of ſending it to Mr. *Bayle*, as 'twas all the reaſon in the world he ſhou'd, he contented himſelf with taking notice to him in general of the ſubſtance on't, nor ever deliver'd it after. As Mr. *Bayle* was a very eaſy Friend, who turn'd away his Thoughts from every thing, which if div'd into, might tempt him to judg hardly of Perſons, he truly had ſome ſuſpicion that this Letter was wrote in Terms too obliging for him, and not quite ſo obliging to the Perſon who kept it in his hands; yet he did not dwell on it, not even in a Thought.

Whilſt

Whilſt Mr. *Paets* at *Rotterdam* was removing all the Obſtacles to Mr. *Jurieu*'s Vocation, Mr. *Bayle* was inform'd he had ingag'd himſelf to the Church of *Roan*; ſo that he was mightily ſurpriz'd in his Journy for *Holland*, to hear that Mr. *Jurieu* was broke up from *Sedan* with ſome precipitation, and making the beſt of his way into *Holland*. He thought he cou'd not be very far from *Rotterdam*, when asking about him at *Maeſtricht*, they inform'd him he was actually there. Mr. *Bayle* made but a ſhort ſtay at *Maeſtricht*, and upon his Arrival at *Rotterdam*, was receiv'd in the moſt obliging manner imaginable by the Family of Mr. *Van Koelen*, very conſiderable in this Town; and by Mr. *Paets*, who had procur'd him a Philoſophy and Hiſtory Profeſſor's Chair in the illuſtrious School, which the worſhipful Magiſtrates of *Rotterdam* had juſt founded. Mr. *Paets* was but newly return'd from his Embaſſy to *Spain*. He was a Perſon of extraordinary Merit, no leſs diſtinguiſh'd by his Acquaintance with all the moſt profound Parts of Learning, than by his great Ability in managing the Buſineſs of the State, as your Lordſhip ſhall ſee more particularly hereafter. He was Brother-

in-law

in law to Mr. *Cornelius de Witt*, and consider'd as Head of the Party which oppos'd the House of *Orange*; and therefore it was not without some difficulty that he was admitted again into the Magistracy of *Rotterdam* after his return from *Spain*. This great Man was so charm'd with the Beauty of Mr. *Bayle*'s Wit, that he entertain'd him into the number of his most intimate Friends; and to give him beforehand some particular mark of his Esteem, he was pleas'd, upon his bare recommendation, to employ all his credit to get Mr. *Jurieu* a Settlement in *Rotterdam*, insomuch that he was soon after made Professor in Divinity there.

Some months after Mr. *Bayle* revis'd his Letter on Comets, and having made several Additions, he printed it under the following Title: *A Letter to M. L. A. D. C. a Doctor of* Sorbon; *in which it is shewn, by several Reasons drawn from Philosophy and Divinity, That Comets are not Presages of Evil: with Reflections Moral and Political, several Historical Observations, and a Confutation of some reigning popular Errors.* Mr. *Bayle* having wrote this Letter with a Design, as I observ'd before, of having it printed at *Paris*, he was oblig'd to assume the Stile

Stile of a Roman Catholick, and imitate the Language and Elogys of Mr. *de Vise* on the publick Affairs. This Conduct was absolutely necessary for any who wou'd appear in Print at *Paris*, and he thought his imitating the *Mercure Galant* in some of his Flights, wou'd help to recommend it to a Licence. As he had taken the utmost Precautions to conceal his being the Author of this *Letter on Comets*, which was printed in *Holland* some months after his Arrival, he made no Alterations in the Stile or Language: This he thought wou'd effectually prevent Peoples imagining that 'twas wrote by a Person who had abdicated *France* for his Religion.

But notwithstanding all his Precautions, he was soon discover'd to be the Author. Mr. *Leers* his Bookseller shew'd the Manuscript to Mr. *Paets*, and told him from whom he had it; and Mr. *Paets* believ'd he shou'd do Mr. *Bayle* a piece of Service, by making it publick. On the whole, tho Mr. *Bayle*'s Design was properly to undeceive the World, with regard to the common Prejudices for Presage; yet he had the Art of enlivening his Matter by Digressions so engaging, and by such a variety of fine and judicious

judicious Reflections, that from that time he began to be look'd on as one of the beſt Pens of *Europe*. This Work was no leſs admir'd in *France* than elſewhere, tho 'twas eaſily ſeen that the Praiſes there were only from the Teeth outwards, and that they cou'd not but perceive in it ſeveral lively home Strokes at the *Roman* Religion. Mr. *Paets* then cou'd not make Mr. *Bayle* known to more advantage, than by diſcovering him to be the Author of the Letter upon Comets. Mr. *Jurieu* among others came to know it by his means, either at the firſt or ſecond hand; and ſpeaking on't to Mr. *Bayle* with a ſmall Reproach, that others were let into the Secret and he not, Mr. *Bayle* declar'd to him how the whole matter came about, and enter'd with him into an explication of ſome Points in the Book. The Work was then ſo much to Mr. *Jurieu*'s mind, that he adviſ'd his Friends to buy and read it, recommending it as a very good Piece; but withal, cou'd not forbear harboring a ſecret reſentment, jealous, as he ever was, of the Reputation of his Friends.

Much about this time Mr. *Maimbourg* publiſh'd his *Hiſtory of Calviniſm.*

This Author had liv'd for above fifty Years in a Society of Jesuits, and with a great deal of Distinction; but the Superiors oblig'd him now to march off, to prevent any Umbrage from the Court of *Rome*, which was highly displeas'd at some of his Writings. This serv'd but to raise his Reputation higher; for the King of *France*, who at that time study'd only how to mortify the Pope, took him into his Royal Protection, and gave him a very considerable Pension. He had a deal of Wit, and a boundless stock of fine Images for giving a hundred pleasing dextrous turns to Affairs; his Stile, tho somewhat diffuse, was sprightly and shining, and here and there one fell in with very beautiful flights of Eloquence. But tho he pretended to the Character of a Historian, he troubl'd himself very little about the faithful part. He even misrepresented matters most an end, either to gratify his own Passion, or to flatter the Court from whence he deriv'd so many Favors. Such being the Genius of Mr. *Maimbourg*, you can't think it strange, my Lord, that there shou'd be a general demand for his Works. His *History of Calvinism* was read with so much the more

more gusto, as it had been expected of a good while, and as it turn'd besides on matters of the highest Importance. The Design was to pronounce Judgment on the Spirit and Conduct of the Reform'd in *France*, ever since they had separated from the Church of *Rome*. Mr. *Maimbourg* discharg'd all his Gall on 'em, and employ'd the utmost Artifices of his Pen, to draw upon 'em the Contempt and Indignation of the Catholicks. Mr. *Bayle* cou'd not bear the Unfaithfulness which ran thro the whole Relation, nor the hideous Picture he had drawn of the Reformation; and in the Apprehension that it might in some measure hasten the Ruin of the Reform'd, he resolv'd to oppose an Answer to it, which might fully vindicate 'em from all his Calumnys. But to compass his end, he did not think it necessary to answer in Form, and enter into a nice Discussion of Facts. 'Twas enough, he thought, for ruining Mr. *Maimbourg*'s whole Scheme, to make some general Observations on his Book, and to shew what kind of Judgment we must pass on things, if we suppose 'em such as this Author represents. The little Certainty he

had found in Hiſtory, made him pitch upon this Method as the ſureſt and propereſt for confounding his Adverſary. He had obſerv'd, that all Partys miſrepreſent Facts in ſuch a manner, eſpecially where Religion is concern'd, that 'tis an infinite trouble to ſift out the Truth. Each ſide diſplays every thing that's moſt for its advantage, and diſſembles, or but faintly mentions whatever is not in its favor; and how is't poſſible to ſeparate Truth from Falſhood under ſo many fraudulent Diſguiſes? Such a Diſcuſſion is ſo tedious, ſo painful, and generally ſo inſignificant, that Mr. *Bayle* had a great deal of Reaſon to avoid it.

His Anſwer came out in *June* 1682. under the Title of *A General Criticiſm on* P. Maimbourg's *Hiſtory of Calviniſm*. You, my Lord, are too well acquainted with Mr. *Bayle*'s turn of Wit, not to judg that this Piece muſt be the fartheſt in the World from a ſour ſplenetick Criticiſm. 'Twas properly a kind of toying, but fill'd with good Senſe, and fitter to embaraſs and deconcert his Adverſary than the graveſt ſerious Argument. Mr. *Bayle*'s perfect Acquaintance with all modern Writings had furniſh'd him with a

 thouſand

thouſand Particulars of the Life and Diſputes of Mr. *Maimbourg*, which open'd a large Field for the fineſt and moſt pointed Raillery. Accordingly this Work was ſo well receiv'd by the Publick, that the whole Edition was bought up in four months. The Author was enquir'd for with great Earneſtneſs; at laſt People caſt their Eyes on one of the beſt Pens of the Proteſtant Party in *France*. No body ever dream'd of ſearching for him in *Holland*, amidſt the Duſt of a College. Beſides, tho Mr. *Bayle* did not induſtriouſly deſign it, he gave the Stile of this Criticiſm an Air ſo different from that of the Letter on Comets, that no one ſuſpected the two Works were the Production of one and the ſame Pen. A pure Accident drew Mr. *Bayle* from behind the Curtain: for anſwering the Letter of an Anonymous, which his Bookſeller had ſent him, he forgot to deſire him not to deliver the Original but a written Copy. This Anonymous, a Friend of Mr. *Claude*'s the Son, ask'd, as he ſhew'd him Mr. *Bayle*'s Anſwer, whether he knew the Hand. Mr. *Claude* telling him whoſe it

was, 'twas in vain for Mr. *Bayle* to make a Myſtery any longer of his being the Author of the Criticiſm. The ſecond Edition of it was finiſh'd in *November* following. Mr. *Bayle* enlarg'd it to double the Bulk, yet keeping ſtrictly within the Limits he had preſcrib'd himſelf. I mean, he did not enter into a Diſcuſſion of Facts, nor Reſearches of Hiſtory, ſuch as might manifeſt the Innocence of the Reform'd, and the Unfairneſs of Mr. *Maimbourg*.

Mr. *Jurieu* alſo undertook to anſwer Mr. *Maimbourg*, and accordingly compos'd a Book, bulky enough indeed, entitl'd, *An Apology for the Reformers, for the Reformation, and for the Reform'd, divided into four Parts, againſt a Libel entitled, The Hiſtory of Calviniſm by Mr.* Maimbourg. Unfortunately the Publick did not give this Work ſo good a Reception as it had given Mr. *Bayle*'s, nor call'd for it with the ſame Eagerneſs. Mr. *Bayle*'s Critique had been admir'd by the beſt Judges, and in *France* the very Catholicks cou'd not refuſe it their Praiſes. It's true, the Miniſters of State were touch'd at it to the quick, yet this hinder'd not their doing Juſtice to the Author. But they were very far from judging

judging ſo advantageouſly of Mr. *Jurieu*'s Apology! Give me leave, my Lord, to relate in this place what Mr. *Menage* ſaid of both in the Conferences he held at his own Houſe, and of which his Friends have preſerv'd us ſome Remains. *It's a fine Piece*, ſays this learned Man, *a fine Piece, this Criticiſm on* P. Maimbourg's *Hiſtory of Calviniſm, and he himſelf cou'd not deny it his Eſteem. He has own'd ſo much to me, tho he generally affected to ſpeak of it as of a Book he had not read: Bating what relates to Religion, all Mr.* Bayle *ſays is ſprightly and rational. I had the Curioſity to read what Mr.* Jurieu *has wrote on the ſame Subject: there's a great deal of difference between the Men*; *Mr.* Bayle's *Book is that of a Gentleman and a well-bred Man*; *Mr.* Jurieu's *is all Cant and Impertinence. It's a paltry Repetition of all that inſipid Stuff which* Du Moulin *and others have ſaid againſt the Catholick Religion.* Mr. *Jurieu* was enrag'd at Mr. *Bayle*'s ſtanding in competition with him, and much more at the different Judgments paſs'd upon their Works. The Friendſhip he had for him was no longer proof againſt his Pride; it began from that time forward

to grow cold; and he has fully shewn in the sequel, how far the Resentment of an Author may be push'd when naturally splenetick, and intoxicated with a high Opinion of himself.

About this time Mr. *Bayle* gave a second Edition of his Letter on Comets: But as he ever had an Aversion to long Titles, he chang'd it to that of *Miscellaneous Reflections on occasion of the Comet*, &c. This new Edition was much larger than the former, and Mr. *Bayle* divided the Work into several short Sections, to give his Reader the more Rests, and the Convenience of resuming or drawing Breath when he pleas'd. He also gave himself the trouble of translating the *Latin* Passages into *French*, for the Benefit of a great many honest Gentlemen and People of good Sense, who deal not in the Originals.

1684. The Year following, that is, in 1684. he publish'd *A Collection of several curious Pieces, concerning the Principles of Mr.* Descartes. This Collection consists of six intire Pieces; the first is a kind of *Concordat* between the Fathers of the Oratory and the Jesuits, in which those engage themselves to certain Conditions in teaching their Pupils, which are thought

thought requiſite by theſe; and among other things they promiſe to renounce the Carteſian Philoſophy, of which they began to be the avow'd Patrons. The ſecond Piece contains ſome Reflections on this Condeſcenſion of the Fathers of the Oratory. The third is an Examination of Mr. *de la Ville*'s Book: this Author pretended, that all the new Philoſophers, whether *Carteſians* or *Gaſſendiſts*, ruin'd the Myſtery of Tranſubſtantiation, by maintaining that the Eſſence of Matter conſiſts in Extenſion: And as his Book made a mighty Noiſe in *France*, and did the *Carteſians* much Miſchief, as I have already obſerv'd; Mr. *Bernier*, a known Admirer of Mr. *Gaſſendi*, began to be in pain, and compos'd that Explication in which he endeavors to reconcile the Principles of his Philoſophy with the Deciſions of the Church of *Rome*. The fourth is the Work of a *Carteſian*, in Anſwer to the ſame Mr. *de la Ville*, and in favor of *P. Malebranche*. Not but this great Philoſopher had himſelf given an Anſwer to this Author, which was afterwards inſerted in his *Search after Truth*; but as Mr. *de la Ville* ſeem'd more animated againſt him than againſt any

any other *Cartesian*, 'twas thought fit that one of the Party shou'd keep his back hand. These four Pieces are follow'd by a *Latin* Dissertation of Mr. *Bayle*'s, which I had the Honor of mentioning to your Lordship on another Occasion; and by some Theses of Philosophy by the same Hand, wherein is maintain'd, among other things, that neither Time, Place, nor Motion, have yet bin defin'd, but in a manner altogether inexplicable. It's likewise observ'd there, that the Reflexion of Bodys proceeds from an Elastick Virtue in 'em, since Motion is infinitely divisible; and by reason of this Divisibility, no Body in a state of rest, can hinder another which is in motion, from moving in a right Line; which Mr. *Descartes* it seems was not aware of. At the end of this Collection are some *Metaphysical Meditations*, printed by a Disciple of *P. Malebranche*, in 1678. under the borrow'd Name of *William Wander*. There we find an Abstract of the *Cartesian* Metaphysicks, and every thing that's valuable in *Descartes*'s Meditations. Mr. *Bayle* even thinks, that the matter is better digested here, brought into a narrower Compass, and workt up to a better

better consistence than in the Writings of that celebrated Philosopher, and carry'd some lengths further. That single Meditation in which he examines what Liberty is, is a Theme in his Opinion, on which the greatest Divines might exercise their Talents. *Instead of wrangling*, says he, *on the Nature of Free-will, which they always suppose, without amusing themselves with the Proofs, they ought in the first place to prove there is such a thing; the Question may be of more Importance, and have a greater depth than they are aware.*

About this time the Visitors of the College of *Franeker*, who had known Mr. *Bayle* by his *Reflections on Comets*, offer'd him a Philosophy Professor's Chair with them. But tho this Post was more beneficial, and indeed more creditable than that of *Roterdam*, he thank'd 'em for the Honor they did him, but was loth to remove from his Friends at *Roterdam*, hoping he shou'd meet Mr. *Basnage* there, whom he believ'd the Persecution wou'd soon waft thither, as it accordingly hapned.

The Design of informing the Publick by a kind of Journal, of the most curious Occurrences in the Republick of Letters,

Letters, had been found ſo inſtructive and agreeable, that no ſooner had Mr. *Sallo*, a Counſellor of the Parliament of *Paris*, publiſh'd his firſt Eſſays of this Project, in 1665. but ſeveral other Nations expreſt their Satisfaction in it, either by tranſlating the *Journal des Savans*, which this ingenious Perſon had printed every Week, or by publiſhing ſomething of the ſame kind.

This Emulation had ſenſibly increas'd ever ſince that time, inſomuch as it extended it ſelf, not only from Nation to Nation, but from one Science to another. Mr. *Bayle*, who underſtood the Uſefulneſs and Advantage of ſuch Journals beſt of any body, was mightily ſurpriz'd, that *Holland*, which had always ſignaliz'd it ſelf in the Improvement of the noble Arts, had not hitherto taken part in the general Emulation. His wonder increas'd the more when he conſider'd, that this Country was as well if not better furniſh'd with Books than any part of the World; that the People were naturally induſtrious and inquiſitive; that their Voyages to the *Indies* help'd 'em to the Knowledg of a thouſand Raritys and Things utterly unknown to other Nations: And laſtly,

laſtly, that the Preſs was ſo open, that Authors from all parts of *Europe* had recourſe to *Holland*, when diſcourag'd by the Difficulty of obtaining Licences at home. All theſe Conſiderations had tempted him more than once to write a Journal or Hiſtory of the Learned; but he ſoon gave over the Deſign when he conſider'd the Time and infinite Application which ſuch an Undertaking requir'd; and liv'd always in hopes, that ſome body elſe wou'd preſent for the purpoſe. Accordingly the firſt Month of this Year there appear'd a kind of Journal, entitl'd, the *Mercure Savant*. Mr. *de Blegny*, Author of the *Journal or Hiſtory of Phyſick*, and of ſeveral Treatiſes of Chirurgery, compos'd it at *Paris*, and ſent the Sheets to Mr. *Gaultier*, a Phyſician of *Niort*, who liv'd at *Amſterdam*, and got 'em printed there. One wou'd think he undertook this Journal only to cry up his own Works, and damn thoſe of all other Writers. 'Twas a happy Thought, and I cou'd name your Lordſhip ſome Journaliſts of the blue Ribbon, who have improv'd upon the Example. However ſomething there was ſo irregular in this new Journal, that

that 'twas dropt the very next Month after. No ſooner had Mr. *Bayle* ſeen the *Mercure Savant*, but he felt his former Paſſion kindle in him anew, and with more Force than ever. The Plan of this he obſerv'd was defective, and he was exceedingly ſhock'd at the viſible Deſign in it of running down illuſtrious Men. Mr. *Jurieu*, who was privy to Mr. *Bayle*'s Thoughts in this point, and who from a ſight of the *Mercure Savant* comprehended the Advantages which might be made of ſuch a Journal, urg'd him extremely to proſecute the Deſign, hoping to have in him a truſty Pen for forming the Panegyrick of all his own Books. He flatter'd himſelf too with the Hopes of inſerting in it now and then ſome Memoirs againſt thoſe who had the misfortune not to be in his good Graces; and was beſides very deſirous Mr. *Bayle* ſhou'd be ingag'd in a matter, which he was ſure wou'd prevent his ever interfering with himſelf.

Mr. *Bayle* therefore having reſolv'd to enter the Liſts as a Journaliſt, began with the Month of *March* to give us his *Account of the Republick of Letters*. This of all his Works was that which the Publick coveted moſt, and which perhaps

perhaps was moſt univerſally reliſh'd. All was ſprightly and animated in his Extracts; he had the knack of diverſifying his matter agreeably, and conveying the Idea of a Book in a few words, without tiring the Reader by an ill Choice, or by tedious pall'd Reflections. He was diſcreet and reſerv'd in his Characters, loth to diſcourage his Authors, or to expoſe himſelf by proſtituting his Praiſes. 'Twas thought tho that he prais'd too much in his firſt Journals, and this oblig'd him to be afterwards more reſerv'd in this particular. Very far from the Spirit of moſt Authors, whenever he was advertis'd of a Fault he took a Pleaſure in acknowledging it to the Publick. This was an effect of his extreme Modeſty, and of his ardent Love of Truth. I ſhan't ſtop here, my Lord, to collect the Elogys given Mr. *Bayle* on occaſion of this Journal. I ſhall only obſerve, that all the other Journaliſts endeavor to copy, but none as we can ſee comes near him.

The ſecond Edition of his *Criticiſm on the Hiſtory of Calviniſm* being ſold off in a very ſhort time, Mr. *Bayle* was oblig'd to publiſh a third. As he believ'd

liev'd this might be the laſt that would ſell, he cou'd willingly have brought it as near Perfection as poſſible; but he durſt not, for fear of diſobliging thoſe who had bought it twice before, and becauſe People often murmur at new Editions, review'd, amended, and enlarg'd, which take off the Value of the former, and give Perſons ſome regret that they laid out their Mony in 'em. He took care then that this Edition ſhou'd not much differ from the Second, and publiſh'd an Advertiſement, that all who had the Second Edition might keep to it, and that the Third ought not to give 'em any Temptation. Yet he cou'd not forbear making ſome Additions and Amendments, which render'd it much preferable to the former. He made ſome change in the Diſpoſition of the Letters (for I forgot, my Lord, to tell you, that Mr. *Bayle* compos'd this Work by way of Letters) but he chiefly apply'd himſelf to the poliſhing the Stile, by ſtriking out all chiming or ambiguous Expreſſions. Mr. *Bayle* had ſtudy'd his own Language to a nicety, and no one better knew the difficulty of writing in it to Perfection.

Perfection. *They who thoroughly understand our Language,* says he, *and who have a nice Ear, own there's nothing harder than writing justly in* French, *so as to avoid all chiming Expressions, Consonances, and Phrases, where the same word may be refer'd to several other Phrases, and admit of different Senses, some of which may sometimes be ridiculous. The new* French *Grammarians,* adds he, *lay down Rules which 'tis impossible to follow, and which deserve to be look't on as the bane of Authors. They have made the* French *the difficultest of all Languages to excel in; and therefore we find so few who write by their Rules. We have scarce an Author whose Prose is not fill'd with Verses, Cadences, disagreeable Periods, Consonances, chiming Sounds, and continual Equivoques. They who wou'd avoid Equivoques, are oblig'd to range their Words according to the natural Order of the Thoughts; and in this Situation, which is one and the same in all Men, 'tis impossible to avoid chiming; because the* French *Tongue does not over-abound in Words, or in different Terminations.*

Some time after Mr. *Bayle* publish'd a kind of a Continuation of the Work, 1685.

which I have now ſpoke of, entitl'd, *New Letters of the Author of the general Criticiſm on* P. Maimbourg's *Hiſtory of Calviniſm*, firſt Part; *wherein, juſtifying ſome Paſſages of the Criticiſm, which ſeem chargeable with Contradiction, fallacious Reaſonings, and other Defects of the ſame kind, ſeveral curious Subjects are occaſionally handled, which have a relation to theſe matters.* In his Advice to the Reader, Mr. *Bayle* owns, that after he had with much difficulty conſented to the printing it, he was often tempted to ſtop the Impreſſion, conſidering how rare a thing it is not to degenerate, when, after a Book has had ſome ſort of Succeſs, one ventures to give a Continuation. *Pieces of this kind*, adds he, *almoſt always import, That the Author has not kept up to his Character, that he had done well to have ſtop'd where he was, that he ſhou'd have known his own Strength, and that he was wrong to hazard his not anſwering the Opinion the World had conceiv'd of him.* He afterwards ſhews by ſome juſt Reflections, that theſe Judgments may ſometimes be reaſonable; but for the moſt part, if a Continuation is not thought equal with the

firſt

firſt Work, 'tis not ſo much the Fault of the Author as the Reader. But as the Diſgrace is ſtill the ſame, he concludes, that if one excepts a ſmall Number of Writers, who have had the good Fortune to prepoſſeſs the Publick, the reſt have reaſon to dread the Compariſon between Work and Work, if the firſt Part has not altogether diſpleas'd.

" But, continues he, if ever any had " cauſe to dread the Compariſon, ſurely " I have; becauſe I'm now deſtitute " of a thouſand outward Circumſtan- " ces, which in all likelihood produc'd " the whole Succeſs of the *General Cri-* " *ticiſm*, if it be true that it was not al- " together diſeſteem'd. 'Twas at firſt " aſcrib'd to one of our moſt celebrated " Pens; and this Opinion ſpreading from " place to place, prepoſſeſt the World to " ſuch a degree (for he is one of thoſe " happily privileg'd Authors) that the " Book was read with the moſt favora- " ble Diſpoſitions; which prevented ſe- " veral Readers perceiving, that it was " not a Production ſolid enough to come " from ſuch a Hand. They who did " perceive it, chang'd only to other as " favorable Diſpoſitions, ariſing from

" the Civility paid to an unknown Vir-
" gin Author. The Pleaſure of gueſſing,
" the Cuſtom of magnifying what we
" are Strangers to, and a hundred other
" Devices of the Imagination, amus'd
" the World, and made 'em ſpeak advan-
" tageouſly of the Book. What ſhall I
" ſay of Mr. *Maimbourg*'s Reputation,
" which alone was ſufficient to excite
" the Curioſity of the Publick for a *Cri-*
" *ticiſm on his Hiſtory of Calviniſm*, eſpe-
" cially at the time he wrote it? The
" Hiſtorys of this Jeſuit took mightily,
" they were read in all Countrys; that
" of Calviniſm nearly concern'd a con-
" ſiderable Body in *Europe*: the Pro-
" ceedings of the Pope againſt him had
" drawn the Eyes of all thoſe upon him
" more than ever, who were given to
" reading; People expected with Impa-
" tience what the Calviniſts wou'd ſay
" to this new Writer of the Hiſtory
" of their Religion; the whole Party
" wiſh'd paſſionately, that ſome body
" wou'd confute this Man; and their
" Wiſhes for his ſucceeding in't diſ-
" pos'd 'em powerfully to believe, and
" to make others believe, ſo the Work
" were tolerable, that he had admira-
" bly defended the Cauſe; laſt of all,

con-

" contraband Books had bin very rare,
" tho the Perſecution of the *Hugonots*
" had made a great noiſe.

After this Mr. *Bayle* ſhews he was now deſtitute of the help of all theſe favorable Circumſtances, and conſequently had reaſon to fear, that his Readers might look on his Continuation of the *Criticiſm* as a younger Brother, and a Diſhonor to the Head of the Family: and from hence proceeded the Temptation, which he was often under to ſtop it in the Impreſſion. " If you'd
" know, adds he, how I conquer'd ſo
" plauſible a Temptation, you muſt
" imagine a Man who, ſearching after
" that bleſt Independence on which
" *Epictetus* has given us ſuch admira-
" ble Leſſons, has a Soul Philoſophical
" enough to be eaſily comforted under
" Diſgrace, and perhaps need no Com-
" fort for the Diſadvantages this new
" Collection of Letters may fall under.
" And what, pray, ſhou'd we gain by
" Study, if we continu'd, like other
" Men, in a vile Servitude to the Pub-
" lick, I mean in a Dependence on the
" Opinions of others? No, we muſt
" not lie down in this Slavery; yet

" 'twere doing as much, to ſuppreſs " Books half printed, for fear the Rea- " der ſhou'd ſay this or that. We " muſt e'en let 'em take their For- " tune, and convince our ſelves by an " Experiment, that we are free.

This Work contains two and twenty Letters. In the firſt Mr. *Bayle* makes ſome Reflections upon Authors not bearing to be criticiz'd on: He relates the Objections ſent to him againſt his *Critique Generale*, and notes thoſe which he intends to confute. The ſecond Letter turns upon Authors contradicting themſelves. The third contains ſeveral Miſcellaneous matters. In the fourth he treats of the Quality of *Great Man*, and the ill Effects of Praiſe. In the fifth he applys to the famous Mr. *Arnauld*, what was advanc'd in the former Letter. In the ſixth he examines the Example of JESUS CHRIST and his Apoſtles, alledg'd to juſtify Authors who write in a violent Stile. The ſeventh ſhews, that angry Authors don't go unpuniſh'd, and aſſigns the reaſon of it. Mr. *Bayle* ſpeaks in the eighth of ſome Edicts publiſh'd in *France* againſt the Reform'd. In the ninth he treats of the Rights of an erroneous Conſcience, and

of

rrors attended with Sincerity. He
ys in the tenth ſome Remarks he
made on a Letter of Mr. *Peliſſon*
ing the Converſions of the Re-
d in *France*. In the eleventh and
th he anſwers what Mr. *Arnauld*
ubliſh'd, to prove the Sincerity of
new Converts. He ſpeaks in the
teenth of the Motives of the Nobi-
of *France*, as well for rejecting as
embracing the Reformation. In
fourteenth he ſpeaks of the Marriage
Biſhops who chang'd their Religion.
the ſixteenth he examines Philoſophi-
lly, why Men are leſs fond of Wed-
ck than Women, and what's the cauſe
the Love of Parents for their Chil-
ren. The ſeventeenth contains Re-
lections on the Uſefulneſs of Jealouſy.
The eighteenth has ſeveral Miſcellane-
ous Obſervations. In the nineteenth he
ſpeaks of a Paſſage of *Brantome*, which
he had ſtruck out of the Third Edition
of his *Critique Generale*; and of the
Principles of Morality which are ſcat-
ter'd in Mr. *Maimbourg*'s Hiſtorys. In
the twentieth he has ſome Reflections
on the Learning of Preachers, and on
Mr. *Maimbourg*'s Omiſſion of the laſt
Prince of *Condé*, in the Elogy of his

Anceſtors. The twenty firſt Letter is written againſt the Author, by one Mr. *Criſante*; and here again the Marriage of the firſt Reformers is ſpoke to, who quitted the Cloyſter, or chang'd from the ſtate of Prieſthood. And Mr. *Bayle* in the twenty ſecond, anſwers an Objection contain'd in the preceding Letter.

Here, my Lord, is in general the Subject of this Work; for 'twere troubleſom entring into a detail of all the Matters treated in it. You'l eaſily judg, by what I have ſaid, that Mr. *Bayle* does here ſometimes give a full ſwing to his Imagination, and often ſtudys only how to inſtruct his Reader by amuſing him agreeably. This was the end he propos'd himſelf; and in this Diſpoſition one muſt read ſeveral of his new Letters, to paſs an equitable Judgment on 'em, and do the Author all the Juſtice he deſerves. Accordingly he fails not to advertiſe the Publick, that his Deſign was not to write like a grave Doctor, or for Men of Learning, but for a world of People, who ſeek, properly ſpeaking, only an innocent Amuſement, which may improve, but not fatigue. Yet ſo few had taken him right, that

that he was forc'd to complain on't: " It muſt be own'd, ſays he, in his " *Republique des Lettres* for the Month " of *July*, 1685. that moſt Readers " are ſtrange Folks: One may take " the pains to adverti ſe 'em of a thou- " ſand things, recommend this or that " to 'em in the moſt humble manner; " they'l have their own way and their " humor nevertheleſs. There have bin " Novels written on the fruitleſs Pre- " cautions of Mothers and Husbands; " I'm amaz'd no body has ſhew'd the " Folly of the like Precautions in our " Gentlemen Authors. I know one, " adds he, whoſe Work has not bin " out of the Preſs above ſix Months, " who had neglected nothing to ſecure " himſelf from raſh Judgments: In " his Preface he had given the moſt " eſſential Cautions; and where he had " any miſtruſt of his Reader, he had " expreſly warn'd him, that his Senſe " might be miſtaken, unleſs care were " taken to examine what he ſaid alto- " gether. He had even carry'd his Pre- " cautions ſo far, as to ſet down his " real Opinion in Capital Letters, and " in ſome ſort to menace thoſe who " ſhou'd miſunderſtand him, as being

" left

" left inexcuſable; yet all to no purpoſe. " He has ſince bin made ſenſible, that " ſome even of the Tribe of Authors " have gone into the nooſe, from which " he had taken ſo much pains to pre- " ſerve 'em. To return, Mr. *Bayle* de- ſign'd in the beginning, to continue this *Firſt Part of his new Letters*, by an Addition of two Parts more, the firſt of which was intended to ſatisfy thoſe who ſaid, he had in his *Critique Gene- rale* too ſlightly touch'd ſome things which deſerv'd a greater Conſideration, as the Conference at *Poiſſi*, the firſt tak- ing up of Arms, the Verſion of the Pſalms, *&c.* And the ſecond to explain ſome Difficultys of Controverſy. Nay, he had of a long time prepar'd the Mat- ters for each of theſe Parts; but his o- ther Occupations hinder'd his giving 'em the finiſhing ſtroke.

I ought not to forget, that he began the ſecond Year of his *Account of the Republick of Letters*, by a ſmall change which put 'em out of the number of Anonymous Works; I mean, he added to the Title of the Month of *March*, 1685. the following words, *By Mr.* B——, *Profeſſor in Philoſophy and Hiſ- tory at* Roterdam. This he did to ſhew, that

that the Author of this Journal was one of the Profeſſors of that *illuſtrious School*, which the worſhipful Magiſtrates of *Roterdam* had the Generoſity to found there in 1681. and that if the Publick receiv'd any Information, or uſeful Entertainment by this *Account*, they might know 'twas wholly owing to theſe Gentlemen, ſince 'twas to them the Author was oblig'd for that happy Leiſure which permitted him to apply himſelf to ſo hard an Undertaking. He wou'd alſo teſtify by this means, tho he did not dedicate in form, yet that he conſecrated it intirely to 'em. He who has any thing of a genteel Spirit, ſtudys how to return on his Benefactors that Glory he derives from 'em, and is never eaſy till he finds out ſome way or other of making his Acknowledgments publick.

Mr. *Van Paets* was then in *England* upon the Buſineſs of the *States General*; and as the Queſtion concerning Toleration was much agitated there about that time, he wrote a *Latin* Letter on the occaſion to Mr. *Bayle*, giving him his Thoughts on a Subject of ſuch Importance. This Letter was printed ſoon

ſoon after under this Title: H. V. P. *ad B—— de nuperis Angliæ motibus Epiſtola, in qua de diverſorum a publica Religione circa divina ſentientium differitur Tolerantia.*

Mr. *Van Paets* began his Letter with the Praiſes of the Prince, who was then upon the Throne, for having never violated the Inſtincts of his own Conſcience; and was in hopes, that as he was not one of thoſe Kings, who reckon the Reputation of not being as good as their word, one of the leaſt Misfortunes, but on the contrary, had all along religiouſly kept his own, he won'd punctually obſerve the Aſſurances he had given his Proteſtant Subjects. After this kind of Preamble he attacks thoſe who maintain, that Kings ought to allow only one Religion in their Dominions, and the People ſuffer no King who is not of their Religion. He maintain'd, that theſe were moſt pernicious Maxims with regard to Sovereigns and to Subjects, and that they cou'd only ſpring from a Corruption of Heart. He afterwards endeavors to confute the Reaſons which Politicians and Prieſts alledg againſt a Toleration: and after having ſhewn the Impertinence

nence of the Doctrine of Infallibility, which the Church of *Rome* arrogates, he concludes with an Explication of certain Points which he had advanc'd before, and ſhews, 'twere an eaſy matter to unite all Proteſtant Sects into one Society. Mr. *Bayle* gave an extract of this ſmall Work as ſoon as it appear'd; and Mr. *Paets* happning to die about the ſame time, he added a Character of him in his Republick of Letters. I ſhall tranſcribe it from him with ſo much the more Pleaſure, as you have ſeem'd willing, my Lord, to know this great Man more particularly.

" This was not the firſt time, ſays " Mr. *Bayle*, that the illuſtrious Mr. " *Paets*, Author of the Letter which " we have mention'd, had reaſon'd " ſolidly on the point of Toleration. " There are ſome other Letters of his " extant on this Subject, in the Col- " lection of the *Præſtantium ac eruditorum virorum Epiſtolæ*, printed firſt " in *Octavo*, and afterwards in *Folio*, at " *Amſterdam*, in 1684. Theſe are no- " ble Monuments of his Eloquence, and " of the Solidity of his Judgment. He " might eaſily have given the World " many others more conſiderable, had

" he

" he the Ambition of being an Au-
" thor; for he was a profound Divine,
" a great Civilian, a great Stateſman,
" and a great Philoſopher. He had a
" very happy way of conceiving things,
" and div'd to the bottom of 'em after
" a ſurprizing manner. Never any
" Man reaſon'd more ſolidly, or gave
" a more majeſtick turn to whatever
" he had to deliver. But he was born
" for greater Occupations than that of
" an Author. His extraordinary Em-
" baſſy into *Spain*, which he diſcharg'd
" with ſo much Advantage to his
" Country when under a Conſterna-
" tion at the great Progreſſes of *France*,
" was an inſtance of his Capacity in
" Affairs of State. What a loſs is't
" that this great Man did not live
" longer! He had ſcarce attain'd the
" 55*th* Year of his Age, when he
" dy'd on the 8*th* of *October*, in the
" Year 1685. no leſs valuable on ac-
" count of his Intrepidity, his Probity,
" his Generoſity, his inviolable Faith,
" and all the other Qualitys which form
" the Man of Honor, than for his great
" Senſe and profound Erudition. This,
" as a Journaliſt in the Republick of
" Letters, adds Mr. *Bayle*, I'm oblig'd

" to

" to say of him. What cou'd I leave " unsaid, did I speak from my Senti- " ments of Gratitude, penetrated, as " I am, by the Favors I have receiv'd " from the illustrious Deceas'd?

This Year was a Year of Affliction and Bitterness to Mr. *Bayle*, and never was his Philosophical Constancy brought to so severe a trial. The Death of Mr. *Paets* touch'd him sensibly, but he was still more agriev'd at the general Oppression of the Reform'd in *France*, and particularly at the cruel and barbarous Treatment of his Brother, who, as I hinted before, was Minister of *Carlat*. The Bishop of *Rieux* had never heard what was become of Mr. *Bayle*, till his *Critique Generale on the History of Calvinism* had made him known in *France* for one of the best Pens of the Protestant Party. This renew'd the Grief of this Prelate at his Escape from the College of *Foix*, and his return to the Reform'd Religion; and rais'd a Fury in him, which put him on finding some Pretence to be reveng'd of his Brother. The prudent and modest Conduct of this Minister deliver'd him several times from the Snares of the Bishop, which serving only to enrage

rage him the more, he at last resolv'd on his ruin. In the beginning of the Year 1685. by a private understanding with Mr. *Louvois*, who had long waited for an opportunity to be reveng'd on the Author of the *Critique Generale*, he sent a Troop of Archers to his House, who drag'd him out of his Study, and carry'd him to *Chateau Trompete*, where he was thrust into the dismallest Dungeon in the place: they tormented him a thousand ways to make him change his Religion; which, added to a tender Constitution, did soon put an end to his Life. Here he crown'd that Piety which was remarkable in the whole course of his Life, by a blessed Death, admir'd even by those who had us'd all their Endeavors to make him die a Papist, and over whose utmost Cruelty's he triumph'd gloriously.

Mr. *Bayle*, who tenderly lov'd his Brother, receiv'd the News of his Death with exceeding Sorrow. But his Affliction was never greater than when he understood, they had at last repeal'd the *Edict of Nants*, which *Henry* IV. had granted to the Protestants of his Kingdom, as a Security for the free Exercise of their Religion; and which *Louis* XIII.

and

and *Louis* the XIV. had ſolemnly ſworn to maintain. He cou'd not without horror reflect, how the Court of *France*, after having, for above twenty Years paſt, employ'd all kinds of Artifice to deſtroy a People, whoſe only Crime was their having different Notions in Religion from thoſe of the prevailing Sect, cou'd at laſt make uſe of Dragoons, Exile, Dungeons, Fire and Sword, and a thouſand unheard of Cruelty's, to force 'em to embrace a Worſhip, which they look'd on as ſuperſtitious and idolatrous. Nor was he leſs provok'd to find, that the *French* Authors ſhou'd have the front to publiſh, in the Face of Heaven and Earth, that no other Methods but thoſe of Gentleneſs and Love had been made uſe of towards the Reform'd, and that the extorted Converſions were all intirely free and voluntary. In ſhort, nothing cou'd poſſibly ſhock him more than an infinite number of Writings, the continual Burden of which was *the Immortal Glory that* Louis *the Great* had eſtabliſh'd, by rooting out *Hereſy*, and making *France intirely Catholick*.

This Complication of Iniquity put 1686.
him out of all Patience; and in the exceſs of his Grief and Indignation he

publiſh'd a ſmall Book, entitl'd, *A Character of* France *intirely Catholick, under the Reign of* Louis *the Great.* He might juſtly have call'd it a *Philippick Oration*: here he paints out in the ſtrongeſt and liveliеſt Colors the Behavior and Actions of the Convertiſts of *France*; he thunders ſome affrighting Truths in their Ears, and is not ſparing of the moſt expreſſive Epithets to diſtinguiſh 'em. Yet is it far from being a mere Declamation; the whole is ſuſtain'd by a ſtrain of the politeſt Wit, and the juſteſt Reflections. As Mr. *Bayle* was thoroughly ſatisfy'd, that the Clergy of *France* were the principal Authors of all the Miſerys of the Reform'd, he ſuppos'd the Work to be written by a Refugee in *England* to a *French* Eccleſiaſtick, and entitl'd it, *A Letter from* London *to Mr.* l'Abbé de —— *a Canon of* Notre-Dame *of* ——. He accompany'd it with two other ſmall pieces, ſtill under borrow'd Characters: the firſt of which is a Letter from the Canon to a Refugee at *London*, deſiring his Thoughts upon the former Letter which had been ſent him. The latter contains the Refugee's Anſwer to the Canon. This Anſwer is full of Civility, and Expreſ-

ſions

ſions of Charity. Here the Author ſpeaks in a milder Tone, and contents himſelf with modeſtly offering his Advice, and asking a few Queſtions. Yet is it not wholly without its pointed Paſſages. Here he promiſes a Philoſophical Commentary, compos'd in *Engliſh*, by a learned Preſbyterian, on theſe words of the Parable, *Compel 'em to come in*; which ſhou'd inconteſtably prove the neceſſity of a Toleration, and utterly overthrow all St. *Auſtin*'s Arguments to the contrary.

In effect, Mr. *Bayle* plainly ſaw, that all the Havock which the Church of *Rome* had made in the World for ſo many Ages paſt, proceeded from its Spirit of Conformity and Perſecution. He reſolv'd therefore to begin at the very ſource of the Evil; and in this Reſolution he ſet himſelf heartily, and with all his force, about vanquiſhing a Monſter, which had cover'd the Face of the Earth a thouſand times over with Bloodſhed and Slaughter; the foreſt Reproach of Human Nature, and that which renders the precious Name of *Chriſtian* deteſtable in the ſight of Infidels. This, my Lord, was what induc'd him to publiſh the Work, which he had promis'd in the ſmall Piece I

mention'd. He gave it the following Title, *A Philoſophical Commentary on theſe words of* JESUS CHRIST, Compel 'em to come in; *in which it is prov'd by ſeveral demonſtrative Arguments, that nothing is more abominable than making Converts by Compulſion: with a Confutation of all the Sophiſms of the Convertiſts in behalf of Violence, and of St.* Auſtin's *Apology for Perſecution. Tranſlated from the* Engliſh *of Mr.* John Fox *of* Bruggs, *by* M. J. F. Mr. *Bayle* feign'd it to be a Tranſlation from the *Engliſh*, as well becauſe the way of reaſoning in it reſembl'd that Depth, and ſtrenuous Abſtraction, which diſtinguiſhes the Writers of *England*, as becauſe he wou'd not be ſuſpected for the Author of this Work; and the better to conceal himſelf, he diſguis'd his Stile, and made uſe of ſeveral, either obſolete or new-coin'd Terms.

This Work is a Maſter-piece of ſound Reaſoning; it's divided into three parts, preceded by a Diſcourſe, in which it's fairly declar'd, that 'twas thought requiſite to draw the Convertiſts out of their common place, and to lead 'em a new dance, by propoſing Difficultys which they ſhou'd not even have

have time enough to invent Evaſions for. The Stile of this preliminary Diſcourſe does nearly reſemble that of *France intirely Catholick*, and may very juſtly too bear the Title of a *Philippick*. The Definition given in it of a *Convertiſt*, is almoſt as cruel as the Thing defin'd; all the reſt is much in the ſame ſtrain: But the Commentary is of a Stile more becoming a Philoſopher, and keeps cloſer to the train of reaſoning. The Deſign of the whole Work is to ſhew, that Princes and Magiſtrates ought never to diſturb any one on the mere ſcore of Religion. Papiſts however are exempted, becauſe Non-Toleration is a Doctrine which their Church has always entertain'd, and always practis'd whenever it has had Opportunity. Mr. *Bayle* makes out his Poſition with a Force and Evidence, which 'twere hard to match in any other piece of Controverſy. What he ſays concerning the Rights of an erroneous Conſcience, will ſeem ſomewhat harſh to thoſe who are not accuſtom'd to reaſon; but they who are better skil'd in drawing Conſequences, will readily agree, there's no Medium between this Syſtem and that of Perſecution.

The first part of the Philosophical Commentary contains nine Proofs of the Falsity of that literal Sense, which Persecutors give to these Words of the Parable, *Compel 'em to come in*; and the second contains a Confutation of eight Objections, which may be made in favor of Constraint, or against that general Toleration which Mr. *Bayle* wou'd establish. That your Lordship may the better conceive the Design of the third part, I must observe, that to justify the Violences exercis'd on the Reform'd in *France*, the Archbishop of *Paris* got a small Book publish'd, entitl'd, *The Conformity of the Conduct of the Church of* France *for bringing in the Protestants, with that of the Church of* Africk *for bringing in the Donatists to the Catholick Church.* This Work contain'd two Letters of St. *Austin*, one written to *Vincentius* a Donatist Bishop, who had signify'd to this Father, how much he was surpriz'd to find, that having formerly been of Opinion, that it was not lawful to employ the Authority of the Secular Arm against Hereticks, nor any other Means besides the Word of God and sound Reason, he shou'd now maintain quite the contrary; and the

the other addreſt to St. *Auſtin* by *Boniface*, who had conſulted him on the ſame Subject. Mr. *Bayle* confutes both theſe Letters, and ſeveral Paſſages in others of the ſame Tenor, in the third part of his *Philoſophical Commentary*, which however appear'd not in ſome months after the other two.

During all this time Mr. *Bayle* fail'd not, over and above the ordinary Functions of his Charge, to continue his *Account of the Republick of Letters* regularly: But he found himſelf over-burden'd at laſt by an Undertaking, which, to be rightly diſcharg'd, requires a Labor and Application above the ſtrength of any one Man. Nor is it to be doubted, that the ſtretch he had put his Thoughts on in the compoſing his *Philoſophical Commentary*, had in a great meaſure contributed to exhauſt him. He was not able to finiſh his *Account* of the Month of *March* 1687. and he advertis'd on the back of the Title Page, *That a Humor fall'n on his Eyes, and an intermitting Fever*, had oblig'd him to publiſh the Account of that Month imperfect. In the mean time his Fever, accompany'd with a violent Head-ach, increas'd upon him to that 1687.

degree, that he was forc'd to give over that Work; and then he caſt his Eyes on Mr. *Beauval*, Brother to Mr. *Baſnage*, to continue it. Mr. *Beauval* undertook it, and began with the Month of *September* following; yet he did not think it proper to publiſh this Continuation, under Mr. *Bayle*'s Title of *The Account of the Republick of Letters*, but took that of *The Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned*. "I thought, ſays he in his "Preface, that 'twas beſt to treat the "Publick as we do Perſons afflicted for "the loſs of a dear Friend, never bring "'em to the Places which recal the Re-"membrance, and awaken the Ideas of "the Object which cauſes their Grief. "People, continues he, had always in "*The Account of the Republick of Let-*"*ters*," look'd for the illuſtrious Au-"thor, who gave 'em birth: And the "ſame Title meanly ſuſtain'd, had only "ſerv'd to redouble the publick Afflic-"tion in the loſs of a Man inimitable.

Notwithſtanding all Mr. *Bayle*'s Precautions to conceal his being the Author of the *Philoſophical Commentary*, there were thoſe it ſeems who aſcrib'd it to him, but not ſo much to do him an Honor, as to find an occaſion of doing him

a

a Prejudice with ſome Divines of ſome weak People. To put a ſtop to theſe Suſpicions, he adverti's'd in the *Republick of Letters* for *April* 1687. which was continu'd by other Hands, that ſome Perſons ill affected to the Author of the *Critique Generale* on Mr. *Maimbourg*, having given themſelves the liberty to aſcribe the *Philoſophical Commentary* to him, he was oblig'd to complain of ſo ill an Office, and to declare, that he ſhou'd look on 'em as Perſecutors with regard to him, who ſhou'd continue to vent a Conjecture ſo oppoſite to all the Rules of fair Criticiſm. They may as well, adds he, aſcribe all *Voiture*'s Letters to *Balzac*, or thoſe of *Bandius* to *Blondel*. Mr. *Jurieu* guiding himſelf by this ſly Maxim, gave roundly into the nooſe. In a Spirit, ſuch as his, the Principles of the *Commentary* cou'd not but meet with an extreme Abhorrence: The very Names of Gentleneſs and Toleration were enough, as we have obſerv'd, to make him ſtark mad. And how muſt a Book, wrote with ſo much Latitude, and an Argument carry'd to ſuch a length, work upon him? As he fancy'd he had made a diſcovery, that nothing was more uneven than the

Stile,

Stile, he judg'd it cou'd not be wrote by a ſingle Author. He concluded it muſt be the Work of a *Cabal, and a Conſpiracy againſt the Truth.* Thus it was his Imagination, heated with the Vapors from his Choler, magnify'd moſt Objects. And as he had already began to declare War with all the Refugee Miniſters, who did not creep low enough to him, or whoſe Sentiments were in any wiſe different from his own, which he call'd the *Truth*; he ſtuck not to pronounce, that the Authors of the *Philoſophical Commentary* were a ſet of *French* Divines, and conſequently Refugees. Accordingly he ſet himſelf to confute 'em in a Book, which he call'd, *The Rights of the two Sovereigns in matters of Religion, Conſcience, and the Prince; for the Confutation of the Doctrine of Indifference to all Religions, and Univerſal Toleration, againſt a Book entitl'd, A Philoſophical Commentary on theſe Words of the Parable,* Compel 'em to come in. It ſeem'd very ſurprizing, my Lord, that a Paſtor who had cry'd out a thouſand times upon the Violences exercis'd on his own Flock, to make 'em change their Religion; who knew what infinite Miſerys the Spirit of Perſecu-

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tion had occaſion'd in *France*; and who in fine had himſelf bin oblig'd to live an Exile, that he might enjoy the Liberty of his Conſcience: it ſeem'd, I ſay, very ſtrange, that ſuch a one ſhou'd after this, turn Advocate for Non-Toleration and Perſecution. I have known thoſe who were puzzl'd, what Conſtruction to put upon a Conduct ſo very odd. It proceeds, ſay they, from hence, that the perſecuting Spirit is inſeparable from the Eccleſiaſtical, and that he who ſays Prieſt, ſays Perſecutor. But is not this turning a caſe perfectly ſingular into a general Maxim; and beſides, is it not well known, that there have always bin Divines exemplary for their Gentleneſs and Moderation? They added, that the Doctrine of Eccleſiaſticks, in the point of Toleration, was purely relative: that in reality they encounter this Doctrine vigorouſly, when their own Party is the weakeſt, and when themſelves are in need of a Toleration; but endeavor to make it take place with all their might, as ſoon as Affairs come to change in their favor, and that they find themſelves happily ſettl'd in the reigning Sect. But this Reaſon is too general as well as the former, and there-

fore

fore concludes no better. I dare ſay, my Lord, you take this matter much righter than theſe Men; and I'm much miſtaken if your Judgment of it ben't thus. Nothing is ſo difficult as the regulating the Motions of the Heart, as getting rid of a reigning Paſſion, Pride, for example, Ambition, *&c.* This, to uſe the Scripture-Expreſſion, is cutting off a right Hand, plucking out an Eye, and making a Sacrifice to Vertue, which coſts infinitely dearer than parting with all the Goods of Fortune. We muſt not be ſurpriz'd then, that Mr. *Jurieu*, after having done homage to Religion, at the expence of all the Conveniences he enjoy'd in *France*, has notwithſtanding bin unable to ſacrifice thoſe Paſſions of his, which Conſtitution and Habitude have, as it were, incorporated into the very Subſtance of his Soul. Accordingly we ſee a world of vicious Men, who notwithſtanding are mighty zealous for their Religion, and who wou'd ſubmit to the laſt Extremity, rather than part with the outward Profeſſion of it: And this, becauſe it's much eaſier to be a thorow Orthodox, than to regulate the Paſſions, and become a really Honeſt Man. Let's forbear then

once

once more wondring, that Mr. *Jurieu* ſhou'd write in favor of a Doctrine, which he ought to have had in abomination. It's enough, that the Man muſt gratify the ſecret Inclination of his Soul.

Mr. *Bayle*'s Indiſpoſition hinder'd not his handling his Pen now and then. He publiſh'd the third Part of the *Philoſophical Commentary*, which contains a Refutation of St. *Auſtin*'s two Letters, as I mention'd before; and printed a Letter of five or ſix Pages before this Volume, directed to his Bookſeller, in which he ſignifys the Reaſons which hinder'd his anſwering in Form to the Treatiſe *of the Rights of the two Sovereigns*; to wit, "That his Adverſary "had not rightly underſtood the ſtate "of the Queſtion. This, ſays he, is "evident from the Opinions with which "he falſly charges me. He breaks his "Heart to prove, that a Man often "ſins in acting by the light of his Con"ſcience, and 'tis fairly granted in more "places than one of the *Commentary*. "He charges me, continues he, with "introducing an Indifference for all Re"ligions; whereas there never was a "Doctrine more oppoſite to Indiffe"rence than that which maintains, we

"ought

" ought constantly to follow the Dic-
" tates of our Conscience.

I had almost forgot, my Lord, to take notice to you of a small Dispute which past between Mr. *Bayle* and Mr. *Arnauld*, on the following occasion. This famous Doctor, in his *Theological and Philosophical Reflections* on the *new System concerning Nature and Grace*, had with all his might attack'd this Principle of Father *Malebranche*, That *all Pleasure is a Good, and renders actually happy in the Enjoyment.* Mr. *Bayle*, in giving an Extract of Mr. *Arnauld*'s Book, declar'd for the Father on this Article: Nothing, says he, is more true, or more innocent, than maintaining, that all Pleasure renders him happy who enjoys, for the time he enjoys it; and that notwithstanding, we ought to refrain those Pleasures which unite us to Bodys. *But*, say some, *it's Vertue only, it's Grace, it's the Love of God, or rather, it's God himself, who is our Beatitude. True, as an Instrument or efficient Cause, to speak with the Philosophers; but as a formal Cause, it's Pleasure, it's the Enjoyment only which is our Felicity.* Hereupon Mr. *Arnauld* took Mr. *Bayle* to task, in a Treatise which he publish'd some months after,

after, under the Title of *Advice to the Author of the History of the Republick of Letters*; in which he puſh'd him from point to point, according to the Rules of his Method of diſputing, which was certainly that of a very able Logician. Mr. *Bayle* reply'd off hand in a ſmall Work, entitl'd, *An Anſwer from the Author of the History of the Republick of Letters, to the Advice given him concerning what he had ſaid about the Pleaſures of Senſe, in favor of* P. Malebranche, *&c.* He maintain'd his firſt Opinion, and principally endeavor'd to clear the Equivoques and Ambiguitys which had overrun this matter, thro the Variety of Tropological Phraſes employ'd in it; moſt Writers having given to the Cauſe the name of the Effect, and calling Pleaſure or Pain, not that which is really ſo, but that which cauſes it. He even went ſo far as to confute thoſe who imagine, that the Pleaſures of Senſe are not ſpiritual: he maintains, that if we conſider 'em in their Phyſical Entity, they are purely Spiritual, and that they can't be call'd Corporeal, but in conſequence of their Relation to Bodys, which is merely Arbitrary and Accidental; that Relation being founded in this, that God has

has eſtabliſh'd the Action of certain Objects on the Body of Man, as the occaſional Cauſe of his Pleaſures. Mr. *Arnauld* wou'd not have the laſt Blow, he anſwer'd Mr. *Bayle* anew, in a Work entitl'd, *A Diſſertation on the pretended Felicity of the Pleaſures of Senſe, ſerving for a Reply to Mr.* Bayle's *Anſwer, wherein he wou'd juſtify what he had advanc'd on this Head, in his* Account of the Republick of Letters, *for* September 1685. *in favour of* P. Malebranche *againſt Mr.* Arnauld. This Diſſertation appearing in the Extremity of Mr. *Bayle*'s Indiſpoſition, he was not able to write an Anſwer to it; and thinking it too late when he recover'd, he juſt ſpoke a word or two of it in another of his Works, and no more.

1688. Mr. *Bayle* was ſcarce recover'd of his Illneſs, when he put out a fourth Part of his *Philoſophical Commentary on theſe Words of* JESUS CHRIST, Compel 'em to come in; *In which, among other things, he utterly deſtroys the only ſhift that his Adverſarys had left, by demonſtrating, that Hereticks have as good a Right to perſecute as the Orthodox. Here he alſo treats of the Nature and Origin of Errors.* In his Preface, he ſays (but 'tis probably

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a blind) that certain Reaſons, which he there alledges, had induc'd him to reply in form to the Book *concerning the Rights of the two Sovereigns*, and to three Chapters of a former Piece, entitl'd, *A true Syſtem of the Church*, in which the Author cenſures his Doctrine concerning Toleration, and concerning the Rights of an erroneous Conſcience. He adds, that he intended to divide this Work into three Parts; the Firſt of which ſhou'd contain ſome Supplements, for effectually ſtopping the Mouths of Perſecutors. The Second was to be an Anſwer to the three Chapters of the *Syſtem*, and to all the Objections, which the Author of *The Rights of the two Sovereigns* had propos'd; and the Third ſhou'd intirely ruin his whole *Syſtem*, his Aphoriſms, and all he offers directly in behalf of his own Opinion. But preſently adds, that tho the Work was finiſh'd, he had thought fit to ſuppreſs the two laſt Parts, and publiſh only the firſt. The chief reaſon he gives is, that he had conſider'd, 'twas eaſy to anſwer all the Difficultys ſtarted in the *True Syſtem of the Church*, from the Solutions he had already given in his *Philoſophical Commentary*. And to an-

ſwer the Book of the *Rights of the two Sovereigns*, 'twas ſufficient to ſhew, that the Author of the *Commentary*, and the Author of the *True Syſtem*, were intirely of the ſame Opinion. This he makes out in five or ſix Pages, and then adds, that he is not the only Perſon concern'd in this Diſpute; that the Author of the *True Syſtem* is as deeply engag'd; and in a word, is no leſs oblig'd to anſwer all the Objections propos'd againſt a Toleration, in the Book of *The Rights of the two Sovereigns*, than the Author of the *Commentary* himſelf. Mr. *Bayle*, who well knew that Mr. *Jurieu* was the Author of both theſe Works, thought the beſt way would be to get him into this Lock: he was loth to exaſperate him too far, by confuting his Arguments ſtep by ſtep, and according to the ſtrict Rules of reaſoning. He thought it better to fight him againſt himſelf, by ſhewing, that he not only advanc'd in one Book what he had deſtroy'd in another, but even had the misfortune of contradicting himſelf in one and the ſame Work. The hurry of his Imagination depriv'd him of Memory and Judgment; and you ſhall ſee, my

Lord,

Lord, more Inſtances of his declaiming frequently againſt Opinions which he himſelf had advanc'd. I ſhan't now ſtand to give the Contents of this fourth Part of the *Philoſophical Commentary*. You have ſeen by the Title, that it contains ſeveral new Remarks, explaining and confirming what he had offer'd in the former Parts.

Beſides, my Lord, tho Mr. *Bayle* always mention'd this Work to your Lordſhip as his own, yet he never publickly own'd it. He always perſiſted in that kind of Diſclaim which he made upon its firſt Appearance: not that he cou'd run any riſk in avowing it, but that he had no mind to bring himſelf under an Obligation of examining all the paltry Objections which might be ſtarted in a matter ſo very delicate, and ſo capable of receiving an invidious turn from malicious Wits. His Arguments carry'd ſo much Conviction and Evidence with 'em, that he did not believe they cou'd ever be ſolidly confuted. Therefore he did not give himſelf the leaſt trouble to defend 'em, when Mr. *Saurin*, Miniſter of *Utrecht*, publiſh'd a Work, in the year 1697. in which he endeavor'd equally to confute the *Philo-*

ſophical Commentary, and the Treatiſe of *The Rights of the two Sovereigns*. It's pity Mr. *Bayle*'s Deſign of concealing himſelf did not permit his giving this Book that regularity of Turn, and all thoſe Beautys which diſtinguiſh his other Pieces. I often preſs'd him to give a correcter Edition of it, but he always excus'd himſelf upon the infinite trouble of caſting it over anew. The Value your Lordſhip has for this Work mov'd you alſo to deſire he wou'd reviſe it; and I don't doubt it had bin a pleaſure to him to give you ſuch a Mark of his Deference, if ſome unforeſeen Affairs had not diverted his Thoughts. Yet tho he diſown'd this *Philoſophical Commentary* in ſuch a way as I obſerv'd, 'tis certain he never abſolutely deny'd he was the Author of it; however not avowing it openly, it cou'd not be cited againſt him without tranſgreſſing the Rules of Equity. They who pretend to find Paſſages in it which contradict other parts of his Works, wou'd they but examine it cloſer, might eaſily perceive their Error. But perhaps they ſee it plain enough, and ſtudy only how to render their Adverſary odious.

A great many Gentlemen, who expreſt their Concern for Mr. *Bayle*'s Indiſpoſition, were overjoy'd at his Recovery. Moſt of the Learned ſent him their Compliments; and Mr. *du Tot Ferrare*, a Counſellor in the Parliament of *Normandy*, a Perſon of great Merit, and a Maſter in the Lapidary Stile, inſcrib'd the following Lines to him.

In Doctiſſimi BÆLII Sanitatem reſtitutam

SOTERIA.

Quæ te mori vetat Gloria, ægrotare (prohibet:
Omnibus carus ac utilis,
Scriptores
Criticâ face elucidaſti, Cenſoriâ notâ emen-
Quæſitor urnam movens, (daſti,
Magnum in nomen ituros
Æternitati
Pronubâ manu dicaſti:
Laboribus tuis alios abſumis,
Deliciis noſtris nuſquam abſumendus.
In hoc venerandus,
Quod neminem contempſiſti:

In hoc verendus,
Quod neminem formidasti:
Dignus qui veritatis annos exaques,
Qui labantem sustentas cognatam Veritati
Libertatem.
Non ad unius utilitatem Regionis natus,
Ita exilium toleras,
Ut videaris optasse;
Ita cunctos eminus cominus reficis,
Ut vix credaris ullibi abesse.
Theatrum Eruditionis circumductile
Factus es Orbi.
Subsellia quæ dicendo fatigare non potes,
Te silentem ferre, Te quiescente quiescere posse,
Ne spera. — Vale, vive, scribe.
Encænia renovatæ Facundiæ
Faustis Litteratorum Acclamationibus
Celebrantur.

1689. The smallest Productions of celebrated Men being reckon'd valuable, and your Lordship having besides commanded me to omit nothing that has appear'd of Mr. *Bayle*'s, I shall here observe, that he's the Author of the Preface to *Furetiere*'s *Dictionary*. This Abbot dying before his Work was quite printed off, and having left no Preface to it, the Bookseller pray'd Mr. *Bayle*

to write him one. It's a curious Piece, and was known at first sight to come from some masterly Hand.

When your Lordship commanded me to send you a true Picture of Mr. *Jurieu*, you did not, I suppose, mean, that I shou'd trouble you with an account of all his Actions: I shall therefore only observe, that setting up for an Inquisitor, he attack'd I don't know how many of the Reform'd Divines, most of 'em Refugees in *Holland*, and impeach'd 'em in several Synods as Hereticks, or Favorers of Hereticks. Those who liv'd in other Countrys he defam'd by Libels, or by private Letters containing Accounts of 'em. For he publish'd every thing that his Spys either whisper'd or wrote to him, and alledg'd in Proof what was trusted to him in Confidance, or in the most private Conversation, by those who liv'd with him on a foot of Friendship. In short, his Fury transported him to that degree, as to fall foul on the Relations or Friends of those whom he hated, tho they never had given him the least Offence, nor ever set up for Men of Letters. Where he wanted a Pretence of charging 'em with Heresy, he en-

deavor'd to bring 'em under Suſpicion with the Governments which they ſerv'd; and wrote to the Miniſters of State, that they were Traitors or Spys of *France*. I ſhan't ſtand, my Lord, to trouble you with particular Inſtances of theſe Practices. This wou'd furniſh out a large Volume: I ſhall only relate ſome Facts of a more general Nature, and which have a more immediate dependence on the thred of this Relation.

In 1682. Mr. *Jurieu* publiſh'd a Satyr, entitl'd, *The Spirit of Mr.* Arnauld; in which, to revenge his private Piques, he attack'd the Reputation of ſeveral great Men of the Court of *France*, and thereby expos'd the Reform'd Churches to an eminent Danger, by diſcovering, that he had Complices all over the Kingdom, who furniſh'd him with Memoirs, and pick'd up the very Ballads to ſupply him. He ſeem'd to be in no pain, leſt the reſenting of ſuch Inſults ſhou'd haſten the projected Ruin of the Proteſtants; his only ſtudy was to gratify his Revenge. The Court of *England* was as little ſpar'd in this Satyr as that of *France*. There were violent Invectives in it againſt ſome Perſons of

Note

Note there, and particularly againſt the Clergy of the Church of *England*; ſo that the Libel no ſooner appear'd in *London*, but the Copys were immediately ſeiz'd, and the Bookſeller impriſon'd. There was ſuch a noiſe made there about this Book, that Mr. *Jurieu* dreading it might come before the States of *Holland*, wrote Letters to ſome Perſons in *London*, in which he ſolemnly proteſted, he was not the Author.

Two Years after he ſet up for a Prophet, and printed a Treatiſe concerning the *Accompliſhment of the Prophecys, or the approaching Deliverance of the Church*, which promis'd the Reſtoration of the Refugees in 1689. and the Downfal of Spiritual *Babylon* ſoon after: *The Hour is at hand*, ſays he, *when the Nations of the Earth ſhall drink of the Blood of the Beaſt, and conſume her Carcaſe in the Fire; when they ſhall ſtrip the great Whore of all her Garments, and lay* Babylon *in Aſhes.* The whole Kingdom of *France* was to embrace the Reformation, and become the principal Inſtrument of theſe marvellous Things: He foretold, *That Providence had deſtin'd her to an exceeding Elevation, that ſhe ſhou'd arrive at the higheſt pitch of Glory, and build her Greatneſs*

neſs on the Ruins of the Papal Empire; and laſt of all, that a thorow and total Reformation ſhou'd be brought about in France *without the Effuſion of Blood.* This Book, ridiculous as it was, found Credit with many of the Refugees, ſeduc'd by the Reputation and deciſive Airs of Mr. *Jurieu*; nay, ſome of 'em built ſo much upon it, that they ſtole back into *France*, there ſedately to wait the Accompliſhment of the Prophecy. They carry'd a ſpice of his Apocalyptical Spirit along with 'em, and infus'd it into others of their Brethren. In fine, theſe poor People fill'd their Heads ſo with theſe Chimeras and fanatic Viſions, that in 1688. a great multitude of all Ages and Sexes got together in *Dauphiné*, and afterwards in the *Vivarez*, fancying themſelves verily inſpir'd, and falling into Trances and extraordinary Agitations. Mr. *Jurieu* publiſh'd his *Paſtoral Letters* about this time, which were commonly call'd, the *Spiritual Gazet*; in which he ſpoke of theſe new Prophets, as of Perſons ſent from Heaven, and rank'd 'em with the Prophets of the Old Teſtament. He treated all as Libertines, and little better than Atheiſts, who wou'd not allow the Prophets of *Dauphiné*,

Dauphiné, the ſinging of Pſalms there by Angels, and the Shepherdeſs of *Cret*, to be ſo many Realitys, and that the Hand of God was in it; he arraign'd 'em publickly, and 'twas upon this occaſion, that Mr. *Beauval* had the misfortune of loſing his Friendſhip, and finding himſelf ſoon after expos'd in one of his printed Libels. Some have ſuſpected, that the *Accompliſhment of the Propheçys*, was only a Wile to prepare the Reform'd of *France* for a Rebellion; but I believe they wrong Mr. *Jurieu*, who charge him with ſuch an Impoſture: he verily, and in good earneſt imagin'd, he had bin let into the profoundeſt Myſterys of the Revelations. There was no cheat in this; not but he had try'd his Skill in Politicks to bring about a Revolution in *France*. He had advanc'd in his *Eſprit de M.* Arnauld, that the People are above their Kings, and publiſh'd ſome Pamphlets tending to make the Dauphin dethrone his Father: but finding this had no effect, and paſſionately deſiring to have his Propheçys accompliſh'd, he chang'd his Battery, and of a ſudden began to be ſweet upon *Lewis* XIV. When he ſaw his fatal Year 1689. come ſmoothly on,

on, and no ſigns of a Reſtoration, he caſt his longing Looks towards this Prince, and wou'd fain try what was to be done by wheedling. In the Book I juſt mention'd, he had affirm'd that the King of *France*, out of a Fondneſs for falſe Glory, was the direct Cauſe of all the Miſerys of the Reform'd; and acquitted *P. de la Chaiſe* himſelf, and the Archbiſhop of *Paris*: but in his Paſtoral Letters he chang'd Stile a little, and left preſſing the Remnant of the Reform'd to quit the Kingdom; his Language to the King of *France* was that of *Great Prince*, who delighted not in Blood, and whoſe natural Spirit was that of Clemency. Nor did he refuſe Mr. *Louvois* ſome few Grains of Incenſe. Then he exhorted the Reform'd of *France* to read his *Accompliſhment of the Prophecys* without ceaſing, and never hope for a Re-eſtabliſhment by the hand of Man or of any earthly Power, but from their own Stedfaſtneſs, and from the King's Goodneſs and Compaſſion. His Letters to the Duke of *Montauzier* in favor of his little Prophets of *Dauphiné*, were fill'd with his Majeſty's Praiſes, whom he rank'd among the *Gods of the Earth*; and with Proteſta-

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tions of Zeal and dutiful Affection for his Perſon. He fancy'd *Lewis* XIV. mov'd by ſo much Zeal for his Glory, and raviſh'd to find himſelf ſtil'd *God of the Earth*, wou'd order the Duke to write him ſome kind things in anſwer. But inſtead of Thanks he ſoon found his Correſpondent only laught at him, and deſpis'd him ſo far as to expoſe his Letters, and make him the Jeſt of Mankind. Upon this Mr. *Jurieu* began to change Stile a ſecond time. The War having open'd him a new Door of Hope, he laid aſide his Spirit of Humiliation, and preach'd up another ſort of Goſpel. The Revolution in *England*, and the Confederacy of ſo many Powers againſt *France*, chang'd the whole Plan of his Prophetick Syſtem; henceforward 'twas agreed, that the Reform'd Religion ſhou'd triumph in that Kingdom by the way of Conqueſt. Mr. *Jurieu* return'd to his Political Maxims, and exhorted the Proteſtants of *France* to take up Arms for the defence of their Religion. He even invented a new kind of Ponton for landing an Army on the Coaſts of *France*, in ſpite of the Militia. He flatter'd himſelf already with the Thoughts of preaching in the *Notre-*

dame

dame of *Paris*. At the ſame time he rail'd bitterly againſt the King of *France*, and againſt others in the higheſt Stations, not only in his Pamphlets, but from the Pulpit alſo. And I ought not to forget that ſome Refugees in *Holland*, infected by his Spirit, and abuſing the Liberty of the Preſs there, tranſlated ſeveral Satyrical Pieces out of *Engliſh*, and wrote others themſelves, againſt the King of *France*, King *James*, and ſome of the principal Perſons of both Courts.

All the ſober part of the Refugees, not inſenſible of the Prejudice this might do 'em, equally diſapprov'd the Conduct of theſe Scriblers, and that of their grand Model Mr. *Jurieu*. But this Miniſter had rendred himſelf ſo formidable by his manner of treating People, that they durſt not complain of it openly, how juſt ſoever their Grief might be. Mr. *Bayle*, ever a Friend to Moderation and Equity, ſuffer'd more this way than any body elſe, becauſe he was oblig'd to be often at Mr. *Jurieu*'s Houſe, where the Company was much chang'd from what it had been at *Sedan*; all the Converſation at preſent turning either on Prophecy, or Satyr,

tyr, which ſpar'd neither Friend nor Foe. Nothing cou'd be more oppoſite to Mr. *Bayle*'s Nature, yet he drag'd his Chain for a long time without having the power to break it.

Matters were at this paſs, when in the Month of *April* 1690. there appear'd a Book intituled, *Important Advice to the Refugees concerning their approaching return into* France, *being a New-Year's Gift to one of 'em in* 1690. *by Monſieur C. L. A. A. P. D. P.* This Work bore date from *Paris*, and was wrote with ſo much Heat and Vehemence, that the Author himſelf call'd it a Sermon. In the firſt place he rallys the Refugees, that 1689. the Year of Accompliſhment, was expir'd, and yet none of thoſe miraculous Revolutions come to paſs which they had promis'd themſelves. He congratulated 'em on the King's favorable Diſpoſitions, as they gave out, for their re-eſtabliſhment; and added, that all the ſober Party in the three Eſtates of the Kingdom, wou'd be overjoy'd to ſee 'em. But he advis'd 'em at the ſame time, *to make a kind of Quarantain before they ſet foot in* France, *to purge away the bad Air they had breath'd in the Places of their Baniſhment, and which had* 1690.

had infected 'em with two very dangerous and very loathsom Diſtempers; one of which was the Spirit of Satyr, the other the Republican Spirit, tending to introduce a State of Anarchy, the bane of humane Society. Theſe were the two main Heads of this Diſcourſe. Then the Author declaims vehemently againſt the *Satyrical Pieces* I have hinted at, and ſpitefully alledges that they are chargeable on the whole Body of the Refugees, in regard they had not publickly diſavow'd 'em. *Has any of you*, ſays he, *with or without a Commiſſion from your Body, publiſh'd a Syllable to ſhew, that theſe Libels are the Work of ſome Perſons of no Conſequence, whoſe Temerity and Paſſion give Offence to the Bulk of the Refugees? Nothing's omitted here*, added he, *to give weight to theſe Remarks, and to many more of the ſame kind, with a deſign of fixing an Imputation on the whole Body, which properly and originally concerns the Scriblers alone.* Then he comes to ſpeak of their *Seditious Pamphlets*; of this kind he reckons all ſuch as maintain that the Prince and People are reciprocally oblig'd, by Original Contract, to the obſervation of certain Dutys, in ſuch a manner, that if the Prince happens

to

to violate his part, the Subjects are absolv'd from theirs, and may transfer their Allegiance to a new Sovereign, whether the Body of the People unanimously declare the Throne vacant, or only the major and more considerable part of 'em. And here the Author attacks this Maxim with all his Might; he carrys the Point of Absolute Power very high, and endeavors to shew the many Inconveniences which must follow from the oppofite Notion; imploying that sort of Argument which in the Schools is call'd *Deductio ad Absurdum*. He rakes up all the Objections the Papists have ever made against the Protestants on this Subject, and on their taking up Arms in the Cause of Religion; and spares neither the Reform'd of *France*, nor the *Vaudois* who had newly re-entred their Country by Force of Arms; nor the Presbyterians of *England* whom he charges with beheading *Charles* I. nor last of all the Clergy of the Church of *England*, who after declaring so highly in favor of the Prerogative, had notwithstanding made the Prince of *Orange* King in prejudice of their lawful Sovereign, or, which in his Opinion came to the same thing,

were willing to admit him, provided he'd be content with the Title of *Regent.* The Author concludes with several Remarks upon the last Campagn (in 1689.) tending to exalt the Glory of *France*, as well as that of the King.

There was a Preface to this Work, the pretended Author of which (suppos'd to live in *London*) was as zealous a Protestant, as that of the Book appear'd to be a violent Papist. He took notice that one of his Friends had sent him this Piece, and sets forth the Reasons which had determin'd him to publish, and the manner in which he design'd to confute it. *I'm inform'd*, says he, *and that from the Mouth of Persons lately come from* France, *and by Letters from several parts of the Kingdom, that our Enemys make a handle of some Pamphlets publish'd in* Holland, *to stir up the People against our Brethren there, and to represent the Refugees as Monsters of Calumny, Reproach, and Aversion to* France: *That the Monks make Extracts of some of our Writings, and read 'em to the People from their Pulpits: That they descant upon 'em with their Monkish Oratory, to produce in the People, as much as in them lies, an implacable*

placable Indignation against us, which even reaches to the King's Cabinet, and makes him resolve on hazarding his Crown and Kingdom, rather than restore the Protestants. I consider'd then, adds he, *that 'twas fit I shou'd let our Brethren know, by publishing what was communicated to me, upon what a foot they stand, and what envenom'd Scandals they lie under; hoping that one or other of 'em might be provok'd to lead the way by a word or two in their vindication, as to these two general Points only,* our Satyrical Writings, *as they call 'em in* France, *and* our Seditious, *whilst I at my leisure take this Advice to pieces, and draw up a full and particular Reply to it.*

This *Advice to the Refugees* was printed privately at *Amsterdam*, and made some noise upon its first coming out; but was afterwards in a manner forgot, when in the beginning of the Year 1691. Mr. *Jurieu* of a sudden took it in his Head to let Mr. *Basnage* know he look'd upon Mr. *Bayle* as the Author of it, and that he wou'd soon make the *Seven United Provinces* too hot for him. Mr. *Bayle* desir'd his Friend to acquaint Mr. *Jurieu*, he wou'd willingly set this Matter right with him, and satisfy him

in all his Doubts; but he never wou'd give him a hearing. The ſecret hatred he had bore Mr. *Bayle* of a long time, was now turn'd into Fury; and he thought this *Advice to the Refugees* gave him the faireſt handle in the World to be reveng'd. So he ſet himſelf to write an Anſwer to the *Advice*, in which firſt and foremoſt he query'd upon the Author, and characteris'd him in ſuch a manner, that any body cou'd ſee he meant Mr. *Bayle*, tho he durſt not name him. Then he enter'd into a diſcuſſion of the Book it ſelf, but did little more than enlarge and copy from the Plan of a Reply which was sketch'd out in the Preface; vaunting however, and ſtrutting as he went on, no leſs than if it were a way expreſly open'd and vouchſafed to himſelf alone. In the mean time he was terribly perplex'd to think, what end Mr. *Bayle* cou'd propoſe in writing this Book.

Upon a Suppoſition, that he was really the Author (which however was founded, as he himſelf owns, only upon Preſumptions) it was no hard matter to ſee into his Deſign. The truth is, he was ſenſibly concern'd to find a World of Refugees feed themſelves

ſelves with Chimeras and Apocalyptick Viſions, which turn'd the whole Body into Ridicule, and was by ſo much the more to be dreaded, as the ſame kind of Folly had formerly been very fatal to the Proteſtants who fled out of the Emperor's Dominions: Nothing having done theſe a greater diſſervice than the Conduct of their *Drabitius* and *Comenius* (whom Mr. *Jurieu* rank'd with the antient Prophets) and a Book wrote in a violent Spirit by the latter, had like to have occaſion'd a general Maſſacre of the Proteſtants of *Poland*, during the Invaſion of *Charles Guſtavus* King of *Sweden*. One might add, that Mr. *Bayle* having bin bred up in ſome modern Notions of the Proteſtants of *France* concerning the Sovereign Power of Princes, it's no wonder if he ſtrain'd this Point ſo high; conſidering eſpecially that in *France* the King pretends to be Abſolute, nor is it ſafe to whiſper the contrary there: ſo that Republican Pamphlets from Refugees, far from having any good Effect, cou'd only ſerve to render 'em ſtill more odious, and throw in an unſurmountable Obſtacle to their Re-admiſſion. He remember'd too from a ſad experience, how cruelly they

were reveng'd of his Brother for the *Critique Generale* on *P. Maimbourg*'s Hiſtory of *Calviniſm*; and there was much more reaſon to fear that they wou'd make the few poor Proteſtants who ſtaid behind in *France*, pay dearly for the Satyrs which ſome of their Brethren publiſh'd againſt the Court in foreign Countrys. Laſt of all, finding that the Papiſts, and particularly the Miſſionarys, made a malicious uſe of 'em for blackning the Refugees, and never left crying up the Grandeur of *France*, he had rak'd up all the old and new Objections of the moſt angry and moſt virulent Papiſts; the Gloſſes of their Flatterers on the Operations of the Campagn in 1689. the Scandals rais'd upon the whole Body of Refugees for the Faults of a few Scriblers, *&c.* in order to open a Field for a full and uſeful Remonſtrance, and for a Reply, which might at once confound the Malice of their Perſecutors, the Vanity of the Flatterers; and reſcue the Refugees from the *Ridiculous*, on the Article of their Prophets. All theſe Conſiderations might be corroborated by other Paſſages of his Book and Preface, of the ſame tenor with thoſe I have

have already produc'd. Upon the whole, it may be offer'd in Mr. *Bayle*'s Defence, that after having painted out the Cruelty's and Barbarity's of the Papiſts in the ſtrongeſt Colors, he might be privileg'd to cenſure ſome few ſteps in the Conduct of the Proteſtants, which to him appear'd not according to Order. And when the worſt is ſaid, he might perhaps be tax'd of Indiſcretion, but no ſuch odious Conſequences juſtly ſuggeſted.

This, my Lord, is the turn that any one of a genteel Spirit had given the *Advice to the Refugees*, cou'd he imagine it Mr. *Bayle*'s. But Mr. *Jurieu* was incapable of ſo equitable a Conſtruction, or of acting the fair part. He did not make it his buſineſs to extenuate, but rather aggravate Faults, the better to puſh his own Ends: He induſtriouſly toſs'd his Head above all theſe Conſiderations. Not that I wou'd be underſtood, my Lord, as tho he thorowly perceiv'd Mr. *Bayle*'s drift in it (ſtill ſuppoſing him the Author) but he helliſhly diſſembled the ſenſe of his Soul; for tho on other Occaſions he had given ground to think him capable of ſuch an Impoſture, yet I wou'd wil-

willingly endeavour to clear him in this. The tranſport of his Paſſion undoubtedly hinder'd his reflecting: it repreſented all Objects ſuch as he deſir'd to find 'em; and as his main Deſign was only to blacken Mr. *Bayle*, he encounter'd Crimes of his in every Page, which yet were hatch'd in his own Brain. Blinded moreover by Self-love, he was far from perceiving that the heavy Imputations on the Refugees in general, were almoſt ſolely pointed at himſelf; and that the main of the *Advice* concern'd his own Prophetick Chimera's; his Satyrs againſt the Court of *France*; his Libels for ſtirring up the People to Rebellion, and the *Dauphin* to dethrone his Father; his variations in the Point of Sovereign Power, and all the other Effects of his waſpiſh violent Spirit. The *Satyrical Writings* and the *Seditious* were, as your Lordſhip has ſeen, the two principal Heads of the *Sermon*, and preciſely the two Points which the Author deſir'd might be publickly diſavow'd. Mr. *Jurieu*'s Libels were even cited to both, yet all cou'd not open his Eyes: He had indeed a ſuſpicion that he was ſtruck at in particular, but he paſs'd ſlightly by this

Conſide-

Conſideration, which tended to extenuate, or even to cancel Mr. *Bayle*'s pretended Crimes, and deſtroy the Scheme of that Charge which he was forging to render him odious.

Upon the whole, he pretended, that Mr. *Bayle*, not able to hear the King of *France* run down, and being beſides ſcandaliz'd at the Revolution in *England*, and the dethroning King *James*, had cunningly wrote this *Advice to the Refugees*, as an Apology for both theſe Princes; and the better to conceal his real Sentiments, had aſſum'd the Character of a Papiſt and profeſt Enemy to the Reform'd. He back'd this Notion with Slanders in abundance, and publiſh'd his Anſwer under the following Title: *Conſiderations on a Libel againſt Religion, againſt the State, and againſt the Revolution of* England, *intitl'd, Important Advice to the Refugees, on their approaching Return into* France. In the mean time he did not believe, that any Motive of Intereſt had induc'd Mr. *Bayle* to write with ſo much warmth in favor of the Royal Power and Prerogative. *We muſt do him this Juſtice*, ſays he, *that Intereſt can have no part in theſe Flights of Loyalty; for he cou'd have no Deſign of ingrati-*

gratiating by this Work with the Powers whom it concern'd, because he had taken all kind of Precautions to conceal himself. Nor did he believe him quite so great an Enemy to Protestants as he seem'd in his Book. *It must be own'd too,* says he, *that he is not that bitter Enemy to the Protestant Religion he wou'd appear to be.* Thus the mere force of Truth constrain'd him to acquit Mr. *Bayle* on the score of Religion and Integrity, at the same time that he was using his utmost Endeavors to embroil him with the Government. He fell into much the same kind of Contradiction with regard to the *Advice.* Whenever he had Mr. *Bayle* in his Eye, he pronoune'd it a Masterpiece, and represented it as the most pernicious Book that ever was wrote against the Reform'd. But this high Opinion vanish'd as soon as the Author was out of his Mind. His first Judgment upon it was regulated by his Thoughts of Mr. *Bayle*, their reigning Object. *The Stile,* he pretended, *was easy, flowing, lively; the Images natural, the Metaphors happy, the Ornaments well chosen, and rightly plac'd: it carry'd a secret Charm, was full of fine Literature, and the Erudition skilfully dispens'd thro*

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the whole. All this pointed to Mr. *Bayle*'s Character. *Then*, he ſaid, *this Book comprehended in a ſmall Compaſs, all that ever had bin offer'd with a Deſign of effectually blaſting the Proteſtants, and expoſing the Reformation by the moſt hideous View.* For this was likewiſe conducive to his end: But when he ſat down to confute it, and frying over the Argument had forgot his firſt Draught, 'twas all of a ſudden *an extravagant Piece, without Principle, without Method, without Reaſoning; there were but two miſerable Difficultys to be clear'd in it; the reſt was only Flouriſh, Invective, Impertinence; 'twas a pretty Poſy of* Polyanthea, *an errand piece of Pedantry.* This Unevenneſs and Inconſiſtency in the ſame Book, is a plain Argument, that Mr. *Jurieu*'s Judgment proceeded intirely from Paſſion, and that he'd rather allow the *Advice* took in every thing that *was truly grating on the Reform'd*, than by undervaluing it too much, leave the leaſt doubt of Mr. *Bayle*'s being the Author. Yet conſcious of the Weakneſs of his Preſumptions, he ſtill, with all his Artifices, kept within ſome Bounds of Moderation. But he did not long continue in this uneaſy ſtate: an occaſion

ſion was ſoon preſented for giving full vent to all his Rage. Give me leave, my Lord, to mention this Occaſion.

A certain *Geneva* Merchant, call'd *Goudet*, wou'd needs undertake to reconcile the Intereſts of all the Princes who were then at War; and wrote ſome Diſcourſes by way of Dialogue to this purpoſe, containing the Project of a Peace. His Propoſal was thus: The *Dutch* were to have the whole *Eaſt India* Trade made over to them, Treatys of Commerce ſettl'd with all their Neighbors, ſuch as they themſelves cou'd deſire; and *France*, in favor of them, was to raſe ſome of its moſt advanc'd Frontier Places. King *William* was to be own'd as rightful King of *England*, and King *James* ſent to the Conqueſt of *Jeruſalem*. The King of *France* was to keep the Principality of *Orange*, and give an Equivalent in the County of *Gex* and the Territorys adjacent, or elſe annex a part of the Dependencys of *Cleves* and *Juliers* to the County of *Meurs*, which the Emperor was to erect into a Dutchy, with the Title of *Naſſau*, in honor of that Houſe. He ſettl'd the Intereſt of all the other Potentates in Arms much after the ſame manner,

manner, and then propos'd, that the Christian Princes shou'd enter into a Confederacy for the Destruction of the *Turkish* Empire. The Duke of *Bavaria* was to be Emperor of *Constantinople*; King *James*, as I said before, was to be King of *Jerusalem* and *Syria*; *Servia* and *Bulgaria* were to fall to the Children of the Duke of *Lorain*, and *Belgrade* was to be the Capital of their new Dominions; they were to have all the *Low Countrys* besides, except *Mons*, which was to remain in the King of *France*'s Hands; this Prince was likewise to keep the *Franche Comté*, *Lorain*, *Luxembourg*, and the new Conquests in *Flanders*: *Hunningen* was to be demolish'd, and *Mont-Royal* and *Fort-Louis* ras'd. As to the Protestants of *France*, they were to be restor'd to the same Liberty of Conscience in that Kingdom as the Catholicks enjoy'd in *Holland*. The Sieur *Goudet* was so fond of this Project, that after having communicated it to his Acquaintance in *Geneva*, he wou'd needs know the Opinion of People in *Holland* upon it. Accordingly he desir'd Mr. *Minutoli*, a Minister and Professor of the *Belles Lettres* at *Geneva*, to send the first six Dialogues

to

to his old Acquaintance Mr. *Bayle*, to be communicated by him to several illustrious Persons in foreign Countrys. Mr. *Minutoli* at his request sent him the first Sheets in *September* 1690, without letting Mr. *Bayle* know the Author, and among others nam'd my Lord Bishop of *Salisbury*; the Baron *de Groeben*, Governor to Prince *Louis*, the Elector of *Brandenburg*'s Brother; Mr. *Van Beuning*; Mr. *Hulft*, Resident of the States General at *Brussels*; Mr. *Fremond d'Ablancourt*, and Mr. *de Bauval*, as proper Persons to be consulted upon this rare Project. Mr. *Bayle*, who was always an obliging Friend, answer'd Mr. *Minutoli*, that he wou'd, with Pleasure, acquit himself of his Commission, but declar'd his own Opinion, *That the Author of this Piece might assure himself, no Proposal of a general Peace wou'd be hearken'd to, which did not deprive the King of* France *of all his Acquisitions, and put it out of his Power to give his Neighbors any further Jealousy.* He afterwards communicated the Project to these Gentlemen: some sent it back unread, and others wrote him word, that it was not only meanly wrote, but besides that, with more Visions, and Ideas of a Platonick Com-

Commonwealth; or a Chriſtian Commonwealth, much after the Plan which the Duke of *Sully* has left us. For Mr. *Bayle*'s part he never had read it, having beſides an extreme Averſion to the reading of any Manuſcript Pieces, full Employment of his own; and the little or no regard which others had ſhewn for it, intirely diverted him. However he wrote Mr. *Minutoli* an Account of the Reception it had met with.

As ill luck wou'd have it, Mr. *Jurieu* was not nam'd among the Perſons to be conſulted, and Mr. *Bayle* durſt not ſhew it him for fear he ſhou'd take the preſenting him a Project ſo very ſhort of his own as a kind of Inſult. For Mr. *Bayle* had underſtood by Mr. *Minutoli*'s firſt Letter, that this did not make the Reform'd the uppermoſt Religion in *France*, as Mr. *Jurieu* peremptorily inſiſted. Notwithſtanding theſe Diſcouragements, the Sieur *Goudet* had his Project printed at *Lauſanne*, and the Booksellers of *Holland* ſoon got Copys of it. By this means it came to Mr. *Jurieu*'s Hands; and finding about the ſame time, that Mr. *Bayle* had receiv'd a Manuſcript Copy of it ſome months before, he publiſh'd a long Diſcourſe at the

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head of his *Considerations on the Advice to the Refugees*, intitled, *Important Advice to the Publick*, in which he pretended there was a *French* Cabal, extended from the North to the South of *Europe*, whose design was to embroil *Holland* and *England*, to confound all the Counsels of the Allies, and thereby procure *France* the Universal Monarchy, to the extirpation of the Protestant Religion.

This rare discovery fully open'd his Eyes to see the drift of the *Advice to the Refugees*. He then frankly declar'd, that what he had said in the *Considerations* touching the Author's Design, *was only the effort of a Mind groping in a darksome Scene. It's true*, adds he, *there was something of dimness in the case too, and one can hardly comprehend, now it's all come out, how we shou'd miss divining the whole Mystery at the very first thought. They who are under any suspicion*, continues he, *cou'd not be more plausibly justify'd by their Friends, than by asking* cui bono? *And I own*, says he, *this cross Question, tho it did not, it's true, prevent my guessing at the Author of the Book, put me however to a nonplus; when Providence at last, which won't suffer such Mysterys of*

Iniquity

Iniquity to lie long undiſcover'd, had by another unforeſeen Circumſtance enabled us to ſound the bottom of it. Be it known then, cry's he, *that this Advice is not the Work of a ſingle Perſon, mov'd from Principle to defend the Authority of Kings, but the Fruits of a Cabal extending from North to South, whoſe Center lies in* Paris *and in the Court of* France.

Then he informs the World that there's a *French* Party at *Geneva* compos'd of Perſons *of all Ranks and Characters,* and that this Cabal of the South communicates with ſuch another in *Holland* and the North. The Deſign of theſe Gentlemen is to promote the Intereſt of *France* as much as poſſible; and not being in a condition to procure her Auxiliary Troops or Alliances, the Court of *France* makes uſe of their Pens to work upon the Spirits of her Enemys, and incline their hearts to grant her a Peace, and leave her in poſſeſſion of all that ſhe has rob'd her Neighbors of, and annex'd to her antient Domains. The general means to this end was by dividing the Allies, and breaking that Confederacy which in all probability muſt be fatal to *France* at

long run. And the means of bringing this Diſunion about was, firſt, by alienating the Minds of the Catholick Confederates, by inſinuating that the War they were ingag'd in cou'd only tend to the Ruin of the Church of *Rome*; and by repreſenting Proteſtants in general as declar'd Enemys of Sovereign Power, and conſequently unqualify'd for their Alliance. Now ſuch was the drift of the *important Advice to the Refugees*, which Mr. *Jurieu* was not able to penetrate at firſt ſight. Mr. *Bayle*, Head of the Northern Cabal, had wrote it, with a deſign of breaking the Grand Alliance, and working upon the Catholick Powers to leave the Proteſtants in the lurch. The next Artifice for dividing the Confederates, was by perſuading 'em all in general, that 'twas a folly to keep on the War at ſo prodigious an expence and ſo horrible an effuſion of Blood, when the moſt they cou'd expect from it at laſt was Peace (the Power of *France* being ſo much ſuperior to that of all *Europe*; beſides that they never wou'd be able to reduce it, or wreſt out of its hands what it was once poſſeſs'd of) and at the ſame time to ſuggeſt to the Proteſtant Powers in particular, that is,

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the *English* and *Dutch*, that they ſpent themſelves to no purpoſe in this War, ſince they might find their Account apart, and get out of the Broil by as advantageous a Peace now as ever they ſhou'd, after a long and even ſucceſsful War; which tended directly to make their People murmur. Now this, according to Mr. *Jurieu*, was one View of the Author of the *Advice to the Refugees*, eſpecially in his Concluſion. But as this was too important a Point to be handled in ſo ſmall a Work, that Party of the Cabal which manag'd in the South, had prepar'd another o' purpoſe to urge this common Reaſon, or ſecond Means of dividing the Allies; and this was the *Dialogues upon a Project of Peace*, which I have mention'd already. Mr. *Jurieu* added, upon the credit of a Letter which was wrote to him, that the Author of the *Project* boaſted how his Work had been reviſ'd at *Geneva* by the Reſident of *France*, and by one of the chief Syndics; that it was afterwards communicated to the King, who made ſome Alterations in it with his own Hand: and he pretended, that after this it was ſent to Mr. *Bayle*, Agent for the Cabal in *Holland*,

land, in order to be printed there under his Inſpection.

Here, my Lord, are all thoſe great Lights which the Project of a Peace by the Sieur *Goudet*, had afforded Mr. *Jurieu*; and here's the ground of his endeavoring to ruin Mr. *Bayle*'s Reputation, whom he now branded as Impious, Profane, a Man of no Honor nor Religion, an Impoſtor, a Traitor and Enemy to the State; in a word, one that deſerv'd to be deteſted, and puniſh'd corporally. In the mean time all theſe Accuſations were founded, as he himſelf own'd, not on any convincing Proof, but bare *Preſumptions* which his Hatred and Fury had ſuggeſted, and which on this account he had reaſon enough to call *Violent*. 'Twou'd have crown'd all his Joys o' this ſide Heaven, had the Magiſtrates but ſeconded his Fury, or cou'd he himſelf have had the conducting Mr. *Bayle* to a Scaffold. *If it was was not in my Power*, ſays he, *to do him all the Miſchief he deſerv'd, at leaſt I have made him a Mark of publick Hatred.* Wou'd any one believe, my Lord, if he did not ſee it in his own words, that the Heart of Man cou'd be capable of ſo black, ſo brutal a Malice as this?

That

That a grave Divine, who had given a Perſon of Merit, for ſeveral Years together, his Friendſhip and Eſteem, and had always met with ſutable Returns, ſhou'd induſtriouſly break with him, o' purpoſe to make himſelf the Inſtrument of his Ruin, and of delivering him over to the Civil Power? This is a Baſeneſs ſo infamous, that Language has not Terms to expreſs it. The moſt unciviliz'd Pagans had abhor'd ſuch ways. I ſhan't dwell any longer upon an Object ſo hideous; and I ask your Lordſhip's Pardon for ſaying ſo much of him already. I ſhall only ſay, that Mr. *Jurieu* imagining the Affair of the Project of Peace furniſh'd Dirt enough to blacken Mr. *Bayle*, he began to carry it ſomewhat milder to the *Advice to the Refugees*. Far from making it look'd on as a formidable Piece, and pernicious to the Proteſtant Intereſt, he repreſented it as a thing which cou'd do 'em no great harm, and might happen to do 'em ſervice. *The Author believ'd*, ſays he, *it wou'd do 'em no more harm at long run, than a hundred other Libels which have been written againſt 'em: That this wou'd be forgot like the reſt; and that in the mean time it*

did France *ſome ſervice, and the Proteſtants too by chance; becauſe it might contribute to the breaking the Confederacy, and conſequently the reſtoring 'em all a Peace.* This Reflection was founded upon the Author of the *Project*'s propoſing Terms of Peace, not diſadvantageous to the Proteſtant Princes. But Mr. *Jurieu* was averſe to their accepting any, till they had made the Proteſtant Religion the uppermoſt in *France*, and accompliſh'd the reſt of his Prophecys. This was the ſecret Motive which warp'd him againſt a Peace. In fine, he was ſo pleas'd at his diſcovery of this Project of Peace, that he afterwards ſpoke of the *Advice to the Refugees* as a Trifle; and cou'd not forbear rallying Mr. *Bayle* upon the noiſe made by him, as he pretended, ever ſince he had been accus'd of being the Author of it. *I know thoſe*, ſays he, *who if accus'd of having the Authors of ſuch a Work as the* Advice to the Refugees, *wou'd only laugh at it, and not be a jot concern'd.* You have already ſeen, my Lord, that he never repreſented this as a pernicious Book, but when he had Mr. *Bayle* in his Eye; and that he ſpoke of it quite otherwiſe when this Object of his Indignation

dignation was remov'd. He ſpoke of the Project of Peace much at the ſame rate; when he was to make his uſe of it againſt Mr. *Bayle*, 'twas then the Contrivance of a powerful Cabal, and corrected by the King of *France*'s own Hand; but when he look'd at it in a confuting Spirit, all that was ſo terrible in his firſt Idea, vaniſh'd of a ſuddain. *This Work*, ſays he, *is ſtuff'd with Viſions, and none but a Viſionary is fit to confute it.*

As ſoon as this Book of Mr. *Jurieu*'s appear'd, Mr. *Bayle* publiſh'd an Anſwer to it, intitled, *The Chimerical Cabal, or an Anſwer to the Fabulous Account, and the Calumnys which Mr.* Jurieu *has lately publiſh'd concerning a certain Project of Peace, and concerning a Libel intitled, Important Advice to the Refugees concerning their approaching Return into* France, *in his Conſiderations of this Libel.* Here he lets the World know what part he had in this Project of Peace, which was nothing more, as I ſaid already, than undertaking, in complaiſance to Mr. *Minutoli*, to communicate it to ſome Perſons of Note who had been expreſly nam'd to him. He likewiſe confuted all the Falſhoods

and Calumnys in Mr. *Jurieu*'s Narration. As to the *Advice to the Refugees*, which made the ſecond Head in the Accuſation, Mr. *Bayle* advertis'd, that he was preparing an Anſwer to it, in which he promis'd to expoſe Mr. *Jurieu*'s groundleſs poor Conjectures and Suſpicions, in ſuch a manner as he hop'd wou'd fully ſatisfy the World. In the mean time he gave a kind of Prelude to this Anſwer; in which, after agreeing with Mr. *Jurieu* that the Author was a Proteſtant, he undertook to prove, by the ſtrongeſt probable Reaſons, that this Libel muſt have been written in *France*. Accordingly he ſcan'd all Mr. *Jurieu*'s Reaſonings and Preſumptions, and ſhew'd that they concluded nothing abſolutely. As this was not one of thoſe Diſputes which ſometimes ariſe between Men of Letters upon Points of Opinion, but ſuch as concern'd Life or Reputation, Mr. *Bayle* thought himſelf not oblig'd to ſpare his Accuſer. He uncas'd him ſo cleverly, that the Man's Pride and Self-conceit were no longer proof againſt the Storm. He had immediate recourſe to the Worſhipful the Burgomaſters of *Roterdam*, and

and presented 'em a Petition so very singular, that I can't forbear inserting it *in terminis*.

The Sieur Jurieu, *who has had the Honor of defending the Cause of God for so many Years, and by so many Labors, craves Justice from your Worships against a horrible Libel written by the Sieur* Bayle, *in which the said* Bayle *treats him as a Fripon, a Villain, an Impostor, a Slanderer, a wicked Man; and in which he treats the Princes who have shaken off the Yoke of Popery, as flagitious Men and Murderers, and says several scandalous things against the Reformation. The Sieur* Jurieu *implores the protecting of his Innocence, and that the said Libel be prohibited, lacerated and torn in pieces; the Author punish'd, as behoves, for Injurys so atrocious; and that the said* Jurieu *be permitted to justify himself publickly against those grievous Accusations, he promising to do this with Modesty and Christian Moderation; and that the said Sieur* Bayle *be forbid to write any more Books against the said* Jurieu.

I don't believe there was ever any thing seen more violent or more burlesque than this very Petition. To desire that an Accuser impeaching on Articles

ticles of High-Treaſon againſt God and Man, ſhou'd be permitted to write againſt the Accuſed, and he forbid to anſwer in his own defence, is ſurely a Caſe without a Precedent. A Gentleman who ſhou'd deſire his Prince's Leave to fight a Duel with his Enemy, but bound to a Tree and with his Arms pinion'd, wou'd make a much leſs ridiculous Requeſt than Mr. *Jurieu's*. But his hardineſs in charging Mr. *Bayle* before theſe Magiſtrates, with having in his *Cabal Chimerique, treated the Princes who ſhook off the Yoke of Popery as flagitious Perſons, and Murderers, and with having ſaid ſeveral ſcandalous things againſt the Reformation*, was a Calumny ſo black and ſo palpable, that this alone was enough to blaſt the Delator's Credit. The Worſhipful Burgomaſters of *Roterdam* took a method much more becoming their Wiſdom and Equity. They wou'd not abſolutely ſilence theſe two Profeſſors, but they found an Expedient which tended indirectly this way, at leaſt with regard to Mr. *Jurieu*; which was, forbidding either to publiſh any thing on this Article till examin'd by the Penſionary of the City, and approv'd by the Burgomaſters.

masters. Mr. *Bayle*, who knew very well, that the Weakness of his Adversary's Accusations wou'd soon appear, when his Invectives and foul Language were ras'd, was glad that they had pitch'd upon this Expedient, and freely promis'd to obey the Order: Mr. *Jurieu* promis'd as much on his part, but he did not long sit easy under Conditions which were too hard upon a Man of his Kidney.

In the mean time no sooner was his Book against Mr. *Bayle* arriv'd at *Geneva*, but some were mightily diverted at the Romance he had grafted upon the Sieur *Goudet*'s Project of Peace, a thing they knew the Resident of *France* had all along made a Jest of. Others took the matter in a serious way, and cry'd out upon the malicious turn he had given to the Politick Dreams of this Merchant. Several Persons of good Note complain'd loudly of his Indiscretion, as tending to set the Magistrates and People by the Ears, and to create a Jealousy of 'em among all the Protestants, and the Confederate Powers. Mr. *Minutoli* wrote him a Letter, in which he tax'd him with this: *I shan't answer*, says he, *that our Councils, and*

and others of Character among us, toucht in a point which so nearly concerns their Honor and Conscience, won't study ways of giving you the most mortifying Proofs of their just Resentment. But this I am sure of, that I shou'd be wanting to all the Rules of Equity and Justice, if I did not clear Mr. Bayle, *who purely by an Accident that I am going to tell you, is beholden to me for what you are pleas'd to make such a Crime in him.* Then he gave him the whole History of the Project of Peace, which agreed to a tittle with Mr. *Bayle*'s Account; and afterwards complain'd, that he, Mr. *Jurieu*, wou'd draw him into the pretended Cabal, which extended from North to South. *Wou'd you*, says he, *in Conscience take it well, that any one upon such Presumptions against your self, shou'd, without more ado, proclaim you and your Friends in print, as a set of Men void of Honor, of Faith, and Religion?* He concluded with exhorting him to make Mr. *Bayle* Reparation, and spare him the trouble of publishing this Letter in his Friend's Justification. Mr. *Jurieu* receiv'd other Letters from *Geneva* to the same purpose, in which his Friends intreated him not to reckon upon the Cabal, he had form'd to him-

self;

ſelf, nor treat the *Project of Peace* as a ſerious matter.

But all this hinder'd not his inveighing bitterly againſt Mr. *Bayle*. He even broke his Promiſe to the Burgomaſters of *Roterdam*, and publiſh'd ſeveral ſmall Pieces without their Participation under the Title of *Convictions*, &c. 'Tis true, not daring to ſpeak of the Cabal any more, he confin'd himſelf to this Article, *That Mr.* Bayle *had attempted to print a Project of Peace without the Privity of the State, and contrary to its Intereſts and Intentions.* Thus this dangerous Cabal, which extended from North to South, and which deſign'd to bring about a general Revolution in *England* and *Holland*, to ſink the Confederacy, and leave *France* Miſtreſs of *Europe*, was ſhrunk at laſt to the printing of a ſmall Pamphlet, which by Mr. *Jurieu*'s own confeſſion was full of Viſions and Chimeras. The whole matter was this: Mr. *Jurieu*'s Bookſeller having ſome notice of this Project of Peace, pray'd Mr. *Bayle* to get him the printing of it: Mr. *Bayle* told him he had no Orders to get it printed, but if ever he had, and the thing were left to his Diſpoſal, he ſhou'd have the Prefe-

rence.

rence. In the mean time the Author got it printed at *Lausanne*; and Mr. *Bayle* having recommended this Bookseller, who was a poor Refugee, to Mr. *Minutoli*, he promis'd to send him the Sheets as they were work'd off, which yet was never done. Here's the whole Business of the printing, which Mr. *Jurieu* misrepresented with all his Art, and wou'd fain have understood to be a Crime against the State. He likewise continu'd his Accusations upon the *Advice to the Refugees*, tho they were grown perfectly ridiculous, since his being undeceiv'd as to his pretended Cabal, founded on the Project of Peace. For, as your Lordship has already seen, this Project was the thing that open'd his Eyes to see the true design of the *Advice*, and discover all the Poison in it. And now he was made to understand, that the Project was a mere Chimera, and the Cabal a Vision, did it not follow very evidently, that all his frightful Account of the *Advice* was groundless, and the Danger chimerical? But such a Confession had clear'd Mr. *Bayle*, and this was the least of Mr. *Jurieu*'s Thoughts: So he never left twitting him with this *Advice to the Re-*

fugees,

fugees, and that with as much Bitterneſs as when firſt he imagin'd it the Work of a curſed Cabal, and inſeparably of apiece with the Project. The manner in which his Cabal had bin unhing'd, was enough to cover moſt other Men with Shame, and ſtop their Mouths for ever: But for his part, the Grief it gave him to ſee it tumble, did only ſerve to increaſe his Fury. He redoubl'd his Sollicitations with the Magiſtrates, and forgot nothing to exaſperate 'em againſt Mr. *Bayle*; but they ſtill anſwer'd, that they muſt do Juſtice and hear his Defence. This diſtracted him; and all his Libels were full of Lamentations upon the exceſs of their Clemency. He thought the leaſt they cou'd do was blowing him out of *Holland*. When he ſaw the Magiſtrates made a mock of his Accuſations, he had recourſe to the *Flemiſh* Miniſters, and endeavor'd to engage them of his ſide: but this too came to nothing. At laſt he fell foul of his *Miſcellaneous Reflections on Comets*, formerly ſo much admir'd by him, and pretended this Book was a Syſtem of Libertiniſm and Atheiſm. He likewiſe attack'd the *Critique Generale on the Hiſtory of Calviniſm*, and the *Philoſophical*

phical Commentary, which he now aſcrib'd to Mr. *Bayle*, and not to a Club of Refugee Miniſters. All the Violenteſt things his Heart cou'd frame againſt theſe Works, and particularly the firſt, he ſet forth in a Libel, intitl'd, *A ſhort Review of the Maxims of Morality and Principles of Religion, of the Author of the Miſcellaneous Reflections on Comets*, &c. He diſtributed this Piece to the Conſiſtory of *Roterdam*, and declaim'd before 'em againſt Mr. *Bayle* with ſuch Violence, as to declare, *he wou'd as ſoon be reconcil'd to the Devil as to him.* Fine Words from a Divine! The Conſiſtory reſolv'd to examine the Accuſations ſuggeſted in the *Short Review*, and Mr. *Bayle* ſignify'd, that he was ready to make his Innocence appear: But Mr. *Jurieu* did not think fit to bring the matter to a hearing at that time.

Mr. *Bayle* had carry'd his Deference for the Magiſtrates Order ſo far as to ſuppreſs the Anſwer at large, which he had prepar'd to Mr. *Jurieu*, and was reſolv'd to let him talk on by himſelf; but when he ſaw this Miniſter wou'd not give over railing in his Libels, and that ſome of his Enemys made an Ad-

vantage

vantage of his Silence, he thought he was oblig'd to defend himſelf. Accordingly he wrote an Anſwer under the Name of one of his Friends, entitl'd, *The Chimera of the* Roterdam *Cabal, demonſtrated from the pretended Convictions which the Sieur* Jurieu *has publiſh'd againſt Mr.* Bayle. This Work, which was written with leſs warmth than the *Cabale Chimerique*, was divided into three parts. The firſt was a long Preface, containing a Detail of Mr. *Jurieu*'s Accuſations, and their Conſequences; deſign'd to let the Publick know the ſtate of the Queſtion, and on which ſide the Victory ſeem'd to incline. The ſecond was a Confutation of all Mr. *Jurieu* had advanc'd in his *Convictions*, to juſtify his dream of the Cabal concern'd in the Project of Peace; and concluded with that Letter of Mr. *Minutoli*'s I have ſpoke of. And in the third part he made ſome general Reflections upon the *Factum*, publiſh'd by Mr. *Jurieu*, concerning the *Advice to the Refugees*; and ended by overthrowing all his pretended Proofs.

Thus, my Lord, you ſee the whole train of this Diſpute, which made ſo much noiſe in its time, and is not

yet forgot, tho very few know the true ſtate of it. As this is one of the points of which you deſir'd the moſt particular Account, I cou'd not avoid Prolixity and ſometimes Repetition. I ſhall be much ſhorter in what concerns the true Author of the *Advice to the Refugees.*

Some diſcerning Perſons are of opinion, that Mr. *Peliſſon* is the Author of this Book, and that he ſent it to Mr. *Bayle*, who publiſh'd it with a Preface, containing the Plan of a ſolid Anſwer to it, as I have already obſerv'd. This was the Opinion of Mr. *La Baſtide*, who dy'd at *London*, and had known Mr. *Peliſſon* thorowly, having liv'd in ſtrict Friendſhip with him for above thirty Years. He fancy'd he ſaw Mr. *Peliſſon*'s turn of Wit, his way of Reaſoning, and ſome of his favorite Expreſſions in this *Advice to the Refugees*: and even wrote a Diſſertation to juſtify his Sentiments, which was never printed, being a Parallel between the *Advice* and Mr. *Peliſſon*'s other Works. He ſupported his Opinion by this further Circumſtance, That a ſecond Edition of it was begun by Mr. *Peliſſon*'s Bookſeller at *Paris*, with the Royal Licence, in *October* 1690. three months before

 Mr.

Mr. *Jurieu* thought of aſcribing it to Mr. *Bayle*; but being interrupted for ſome time, was afterwards finiſh'd by his Widow in *Jan.* 1692. and publiſh'd with a ſecond Royal Licence, the firſt not having paſs'd thro all the requiſite Forms. The laſt Licence aſcribes the Interruption to this, that the Author affecting to conceal himſelf had made a difficulty of having the firſt Licence, which was granted in his own Name, regiſter'd in the Books of the Company of Stationers at *Paris*; and to the Sickneſs and Death of the Bookſeller. But one who was then upon the ſpot, has declar'd his Opinion, that the Suppreſſion of this Work was in all probability occaſion'd wholly by the Broils it had caus'd among the Refugees, and the hopes of ſeeing 'em more and more inflam'd; which indeed has a great appearance of Probability. Mr. *La Baſtide* believ'd, that Mr. *Peliſſon* was ſhy of declaring himſelf Author of the *Advice*, not only as he was born and bred a Proteſtant, and having ſeveral Relations and Friends among the Refugees, was loth to own a Book which tended to render 'em odious; but chiefly becauſe having here and there let

fall Expreſſions ſomewhat too free and too forcible againſt the way of treating the Proteſtants in *France*, he had afterwards underſtood, that theſe Paſſages gave a diſtaſt to ſome conſiderable Perſons, which oblig'd him to expunge 'em in the *Paris* Edition; tho it's true at the ſame time, theſe Paſſages don't all amount to one Page. It's needleſs adding, that the Preface to the firſt was ſuppreſs'd in this ſecond Edition. They gave in the room of it only a ſhort Advice to the Reader of two or three Periods.

Others no leſs diſcerning than thoſe we have bin ſpeaking of, think Mr. *Bayle* the Author of the *Preface* to the *Advice*, but that the Book was written by Mr. *Larroque* (Son to the famous Miniſter of *Rouen*) who chang'd his Religion ſoon after. He truſted the Manuſcript in Mr. *Bayle*'s hands, who got it printed, and gave it ſome few Touches of his own. What confirms 'em in this Opinion is, that Mr. *Larroque* was often heard to cite this Work as his own Production. Theſe Gentlemen think, that this is the whole Myſtery, and the true reaſon why Mr. *Bayle*'s Vindications appear'd weak. He

durſt not freely give his Opinion either of the Book or of the Author, who had always bin his Friend.

Laſt of all, there are a great many who believe, that Mr. *Bayle* was the Author of the Book as well as the Preface, and ground their Opinion on the ſprightly and agreeable manner of writing and reaſoning, which runs thro the whole, and which they think is above the Capacity of either of the other two Authors. But, beſide that theſe Rules of Criticiſm are very uncertain, and liable to Exceptions in the preſent Caſe; it's certain Mr. *Peliſſon*, having written to a Perſon at *Roterdam*, that the King offer'd Mr. *Bayle* a Reward, if he wou'd own to him he was the Author, and even promis'd to keep it a Secret, he proteſted he was not. He aver'd the ſame to thoſe who were deepeſt in his Confidance; ſo that it muſt be ſtruck out of the Catalogue of his Works: at leaſt this is a ſufficient bar for not alledging it in proof againſt him. He had form'd the Deſign of writing an Anſwer to it; and tho the matter was extremely delicate, there's reaſon to think he wou'd have executed it, if Mr. *Jurieu* had not made ſo much

noiſe. Be that as it will, had Mr. *Bayle* bin really Author of this Book, which I dare not affirm, this wou'd not juſtify Mr. *Jurieu*'s Tranſports and Exceſſes. That black Spite with which he turn'd Informer againſt his old Friend, is a Note of Infamy which he will never be able to claw off. I have ſhewn, my Lord, that on a Suppoſition Mr. *Bayle* was Author of this *Advice*, it was capable of a favorable Conſtruction: but ſince he conſtantly deny'd it, common Juſtice won't allow the citing of it with a deſign to blacken his Memory; none but *Jurieu*'s are capable of this. Beſides, the *Advice* had this good effect, that it oblig'd ſome of the beſt Pens among the Refugees publickly to diſclaim thoſe Libels which the Author had made a handle of, and to ſhew they were the Works of private Perſons, without Countenance or Authority. It alſo gave 'em an Occaſion of confuting all the other Objections.

1692. Mr. *Bayle* finding Mr. *Jurieu* wou'd not give over writing againſt his Books, reſolv'd to make Repriſals. But that they who underſtood not the *French* Tongue might be the better able to make a Judgment of the Genius of his Adver-

Adversary, he chose to write in *Latin*. There was indeed something of Malice in this choice; for Mr. *Bayle* knew very well, that Mr. *Jurieu* was no great Master of the *Latin* Tongue, and that he wou'd be hard put to it to reply. He took his *System of the Church* for the Subject of his Criticism. This was touching Mr. *Jurieu* in a tender part; because this Work had pass'd for the best he had published, and the only one which Mr. *Nicole* judg'd worth answering. Mr. *Bayle* took the Name of *Cotius Eirenonius*; and fancying there was no Title the Ear was more us'd to than that of *Janua Linguarum reserata*, by *Comenius*, he intitl'd his Book, *Janua Cœlorum reserata cunctis Religionibus, à celebri admodum viro, Domino Petro Jurieu, &c.* Here he made appear, that Mr. *Jurieu*, as much an Enemy as he was to Toleration, had notwithstanding, to distinguish himself by a particular System, flung open the Gates of Heaven to Jews, Pagans, and particularly to all the different Sects of Christians; and thereby he intirely ruin'd his System. Tho he cou'd write elegantly in the *Latin* Tongue, as appears by the Theses I spoke of, yet here he affected

the Stile and Method of the Sholaſtick Philoſophers, which gave a diſreliſh of his Book. 'Tis a pity, for he handled his Subject with great addreſs, and maintain'd throughout the whole Work that force of Reaſoning which was ſo natural to him: he gave his Arguments ſuch a degree of Evidence, that Mr. *Jurieu* never attempted to anſwer 'em.

Some time after Mr. *Bayle* publiſh'd a Work intitled, *The Project and Fragments of a Critical Dictionary*. The firſt Sheets of it were printed above a Year before, and wou'd have been publiſh'd ſoon after, if Mr. *Jurieu* had not ſtruck in to interrupt him in his Studys. The Bookſeller preſſing him to go on with that Deſign, he drew up in ſome haſt, and on the firſt Matter that Chance preſented, about Twenty Articles, to give a more juſt Idea of his Deſign. He introduc'd 'em by a long Preface inſcrib'd to Mr. *Du Rondel* then a Profeſſor in the *Belles Lettres* at *Maſtricht*, in which he gave him an Account of the Plan of this new Dictionary. The Deſign of it, ſays he, is to be a Collection of the Falſhoods in all other Dictionarys, and a Supplement of what

they

they had omitted. He propos'd, for example, under the word *SENECA*, to collect all the Falſhoods that had been ever advanc'd concerning this Philoſopher; ſo that 'twas only conſulting this Article to make a right Judgment upon every thing to be met with concerning *Seneca* in any Author whatſoever: if the Matter were falſe, 'twas mark'd in the Collection; and if it was not on a foot of Falſhood there, the Reader might reckon upon it as true. But beſides the *perſonal* Articles which were to furniſh his Dictionary, he promis'd to intermix ſuch as are *real*, that is, ſuch as relate not to Perſons, or Places, and conſequently are not to be met with in any Hiſtorical or Geographical Dictionary; he gave two of theſe as a Specimen, one upon the *Hippomanes*, and the other on the *Day*. He even gave ground to hope that he ſhou'd not confine himſelf within theſe Spaces, how wide ſoever they may ſeem; but that he wou'd make Excurſions on all ſorts of Authors as occaſion preſented. He afterwards anſwer'd the Objections againſt this Deſign, and ſhew'd that the uſefulneſs of ſuch a Critical *Collection* did hardly fall ſhort of that of any other

other Science, not excepting even the Mathematicks. And this gave him occasion to remark, That *tho we can't condemn Historical Pyrrhonism, with regard to infinite Facts, yet 'tis certain there are a great many others which may be prov'd to a high degree of Certainty.*

He likewise own'd he was not insensible of the Difficultys of executing such a Design as it ought to be; but was still more sensible of his own inability for the Undertaking: That for this Reason he confin'd himself to the giving only the first Draughts of such a Work, to consist of one Volume in *Folio*; and shou'd leave the care of continuing it to Persons better qualify'd, in case they shou'd think the Design, improv'd with all requisite Alterations, not unworthy their Pens. But as he foresaw that the Sketch which he propos'd had extent enough to cost him a great deal of trouble; and besides was very distrustful of the manner in which he intended to carry it on, he had resolv'd to hazard some Fragments of it beforehand, on purpose to feel the Pulse of the Publick, and profit by the Censures of the Judicious. This Preface was follow'd by

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ſome Articles of ſeveral kinds, according to the Plan he had form'd.

The Articles exhibited againſt Mr. *Bayle*, on occaſion of his *Miſcellaneous Reflections on Comets*, &c. having not been as yet debated in the Conſiſtory of *Roterdam*, thro Mr. *Jurieu*'s tardineſs, this Informer reſolv'd at laſt to move for a Trial the following Year. Mr. *Bayle* apply'd likewiſe to the Conſiſtory, and demanded Reparation of the heavy Calumnys which Mr. *Jurieu* had publiſh'd againſt him; and he had ſome hopes that this Affair wou'd now be brought to an iſſue, when Mr. *Jurieu* obtain'd an Appeal to the Synod which was to meet ſoon after in *Zirick-Zee*. Mr. *Jurieu* appear'd there in Perſon; but ſpoke not a ſyllable of this Proceſs, nor wou'd conſent that the Acts of the Conſiſtory ſhou'd be laid before 'em, tho the Conſiſtory had expreſly order'd their Deputys ſo to do. This oblig'd Mr. *Bayle* to publiſh a Pamphlet againſt his Adverſary, intitled, *New Advice to the little Author of the little Books.*

For two Years paſt Mr. *Jurieu* had 1693.
ſtir'd Heaven and Earth to exaſperate the Magiſtrates againſt Mr. *Bayle*, with-

without the least effect from all his intriguing. The Changes which King *William* made in the Regency of *Roterdam* in 1692. had given him mighty hopes of succeeding; but the new Magistrates declar'd, as their Predeceſſors had done before, that they wou'd do Juſtice, and hear Mr. *Bayle*'s Defence if there were occaſion. This threw Mr. *Jurieu* into ſuch a Rage, that he reſolv'd to hazard all rather than not have his Revenge. The Year 1693. afforded him an opportunity which he wou'd not let ſlip. The War began to ſit heavy on *France*, tho ſhe ſeem'd to triumph on all ſides. The great Efforts ſhe had made to keep a Superiority over her Enemys, had drain'd her of Men and Money. If ſhe had been able to bring about a Peace in this Conjuncture, it muſt have been advantageous to her Intereſts in all reſpects. She therefore aſpir'd after it with an extraordinary Ardor. In this diſpoſition, the better to conceal her Steps towards obtaining it, ſhe dextrouſly ingag'd ſome of the Neutral Powers to break in to the Allies, letting 'em underſtand that ſhe was inclin'd to Sacrifice a part of her Conquests

queſts to reſtore Peace to *Europe*. The Pope had the Year before made the firſt Overtures to the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy*. *France* had ſo intirely refer'd her ſelf to the Pope, that ſhe had given him a *Carte blanche* to treat for her. But not one of the Allies wou'd hearken to his Propoſition. Finding her ſelf repuls'd on this ſide, ſhe endeavour'd to draw the *United Provinces* to a Treaty. She offer'd 'em a ſufficient Barrier, and an intire liberty of Commerce, aſſuring 'em they ſhou'd have the ſettling of all the Articles relating to Trade. But theſe Offers were rejected; and ſome Perſons of great Note moving that they might enter into a Treaty on theſe Preliminarys, were ſilenc'd in ſuch a manner, as put 'em out of a condition of carrying on any Negotiation. Mr. *Jurieu* obſerving theſe Diſpoſitions, apply'd himſelf to ſome great Men of King *William*'s Court; and reviving the Affair of the *Project of Peace*, which I have ſaid ſo much of already, repreſented Mr. *Bayle* as an Emiſſary of *France*. He had the leſs difficulty in perſuading 'em to what he wou'd, as theſe Courtiers found their Account too well in

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continuing the War, to desire to see an end of it so soon. Accordingly instead of examining the Allegation, they made a Report of it to King *William*, and assur'd him there was a Cabal in *Holland* driving on a Peace; that Mr. *Bayle* was one of the principal Members of it, and had even the boldness to attempt printing a Project to this purpose drawn up by the Court of *France*. They put him in mind that the Peace in 1678. had been carry'd on by Writings of the same kind, dispers'd in *Amsterdam* and elsewhere; and forgot not to give a malicious Turn to the friendly Offices done to Mr. *Bayle* by several Persons of Distinction, who had no Affection for the House of *Orange*. This great Prince, who had not the leisure to examine into this Chimerical *Project*, and who undoubtedly knew not that this Affair had pass'd above two Years before, was alarm'd at this Notice. He order'd the Burgomasters of *Roterdam* immediately to deprive Mr. *Bayle* of his Professor's Place and his Pension; and the Order was obey'd without either citing or hearing him, as they had promis'd. Thus was Innocence oppress'd by the Spite and Jealousy

louſy of a half-crazʼd Divine, and by the Injuſtice and Partiality of ſome great Men, whoſe Merit ſhone with much leſs Luſtre than their Fortunes!

Mr. *Jurieu* took care not to reveal this Myſtery of Iniquity. Not daring for a long time paſt to ſpeak a word more of the Cabal of *Geneva*, he confinʼd himſelf, as we have ſeen, to the *Advice to the Refugees*, and wouʼd inſinuate that this Book had been the real Cauſe of Mr. *Bayle*ʼs Diſgrace: As if King *William* had ſo tender a regard for the Refugees, as to revenge the outrage done ʼem by the Author of the *Advice!* But he was infinitely more concernʼd at the Buſineſs of Peace; and believʼd, upon the Report made him, that Mr. *Bayle* did really ſollicit it on the part of *France*, and in concert with ſome Perſons of the *United Provinces*, whom the King had treated with extreme Severity. Alas! Mr. *Bayle* never had ſuch a Thought, and if he had, never was there a Man leſs fitted for carrying on a State-Negotiation: All who had any acquaintance with him, muſt do him this juſtice; and you, my Lord, knew him too well not to be convinc'd of it. Given up wholly to reading,

reading, and engag'd in Metaphyſical Speculations, he was utterly unacquainted with the Myſterys of State. And how is it poſſible he ſhou'd ſet up for a Pacificator of *Europe?* He ſurviv'd this Diſgrace with a Philoſophical Conſtancy, and even with too much indifference, eſpecially with regard to his Fortune. The heaping up Wealth was the leaſt of his Cares, becauſe in reality he had no need of it. His Temperance and Sobriety ſupply'd all, ſo that poſſeſſing little he knew no lack. Yet not that his Condition was Indigent, very far from it. He made no buſtle to get into other Buſineſs; he found himſelf freer now, and more at his own diſpoſal, diſmiſs'd from the irkſom drudgery of teaching and reading Lectures. This bleſſed Independence charm'd him ſo intirely, that he wou'd not make uſe of a Privilege, the Regency were willing to allow him, of teaching the Children of the Counſellors of *Roterdam* in private, who paſſionately deſir'd he wou'd. His Friends did all they cou'd to perſuade him to it, repreſenting that this wou'd be an authentick proof of his Innocency, and of the Malice of his Enemys; but

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he always answer'd, he was oblig'd to those very Enemys for the Repose and Tranquillity they had procur'd him; nor was he much concern'd at the rash Judgments which might be pass'd upon him. This was not the only Instance he had given of a Firmness of Mind truly Philosophical.

Mr. *Bayle* wou'd not give himself the trouble of confuting the *Short Review* of his *Reflections on Comets*, &c. for several reasons; as, That Mr. *Jurieu* had not appear'd to his Summons and Challenges to make good the Charge against him: That after having remov'd this Cause from the Consistory to the Synod, he had let four Synods pass without taking any notice of it: That his Book on Comets contain'd a satisfactory Answer to all the Delator's Exceptions: And that in fine he had thoughts of giving a new Edition of this Work, with several additional Explications and Solutions, for quieting the Scruples of tender Minds, and silencing all the Cavils of knavish Disputants or false Thinkers. But finding in *February* 1694. that Mr. *Jurieu* had got Commissioners nam'd in the Consistory for examining this Affair anew; and fear-

ing it might be tranſacted in a ſummary way, without notice to make his Defence, he judg'd it abſolutely neceſſary to draw up a kind of publick *Factum*, or ſtate of the Caſe, as a means of Information for ſuch of the Judges as wou'd make uſe of it, or to leave thoſe without a Plea of Ignorance who wou'd not. Accordingly he publiſh'd a Paper intitled, *Additions to the Miſcellaneous Reflections on Comets*, or an *Anſwer to a Libel*, intitled, *A Short Review*, &c. *deſign'd for the Information of the Judges who are to examine this Affair.* Here he expos'd the unfaithfulneſs of thoſe Extracts Mr. *Jurieu* had made in his Libel: he intirely deſtroy'd all his Objections; ſhew'd in what manner the Eccleſiaſtical Judges ought to guide themſelves to come at a juſt knowledg of the Difference; and addreſs'd a Petition to all the Univerſitys of *Europe*, praying Judgment in thoſe Points of Doctrine for which he was impeach'd by the Accuſer. This Writing quaſh'd all the Proceedings deſign'd to be mov'd for at that time, and put an end to this Diſpute.

The Count *de Guiſcard* hearing that Mr. *Bayle* was out of all publick Employment,

ployment, wou'd fain have got him into *France* for the Education of the young Count his Son. He offer'd him a thouſand Crowns a Year, and aſſur'd him he had taken ſuch meaſures with the Court of *France*, that he might enjoy a full Liberty of Conſcience. But Mr. *Bayle* thank'd him for the Honor, and excus'd himſelf on the Obligations he was under of finiſhing his *Critical Dictionary*, which was already in the Preſs.

Mr. *Bayle*'s Friends, who knew he wou'd never put his Name to any of his Works, either out of Modeſty, or rather a Philoſophical Indifference, intreated him to alter his Rule now; but never cou'd conquer his averſion to this kind of Vanity. Yet he was afterwards forc'd to comply, for Reaſons I ſhall mention. Mr. *Leers* his Bookſeller having pray'd the States of *Holland* to grant him a Licence for the *Critical Dictionary*, the Undertakers of *Moreri* oppos'd it, alledging this Work wou'd prejudice theirs, and was in ſubſtance the ſame. And as they were not ignorant that Mr. *Bayle* had a Reluctance to the putting his Name to it, they made uſe of this Incident to repreſent his *Dictio-*

nary as a Book without Warrant or Authority. The States wou'd not refuse Mr. *Leers* a Licence, but 'twas on condition that Mr. *Bayle* shou'd publickly own he was the Author; so it was no longer in his power to conceal himself.

I must observe, that Mr. *Bayle*'s great Reputation gave People such an Opinion of this Undertaking, that before it was half work'd off, the Bookseller perceiv'd he had not Copys enough for those who had bespoke it. This oblig'd him to work off a double Number of the remaining, and reprint as many of the first Sheets. I shall give your Lordship another Instance, to shew how high an Idea People conceiv'd of this *Dictionary*. A Person of the first Quality of *England*, who had a great deal of Wit and Merit, let a Friend of Mr. *Bayle*'s understand, that if this Work were dedicated to him, he wou'd make the Author a Present of a hundred and fifty Guineas. This Friend press'd him earnestly to embrace an Offer, no less honourable than advantageous to him! Several others join'd in the Request, but never cou'd prevail on him. He generally pre-

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tended, that having so often ridicul'd Dedications, he wou'd never be guilty of the same Fault himself. But this was only a Colour; the true ground of his Refusal was this Lord's being then in the Ministry; and he cou'd not bring himself to complement any one in a Post at the Court of a Prince, whom he thought he had some reason to complain of. Here's a further Instance of the steddiness of his Soul, and of a perfect disinterestedness.

He publish'd his *Dictionary* about the end of 1696. after he had been 4 Years upon it. Two Reasons hinder'd his finishing it sooner; the first was, his being oblig'd to make some change in the Plan, to suit himself to the Taste of most Readers: for his original Design, as your Lordship may remember, was only to detect the Errors of former *Dictionarys*, and other Authors great and small; but having understood, that a mixture of Historical wou'd be more agreable, and better receiv'd than a tedious Collection of mere Errors, he thought it necessary to alter his Scheme; tho it render'd the greatest part of the Materials he had brought together wholly useless. Accordingly he di-

vided it into two parts: the First contain'd a ſuccinct Narration of Facts; the Second, an ample Commentary, containing the Proofs, Explications, neceſſary Diſcuſſions, and Cenſure of the principal Errors he had remark'd. This new Deſign made him alter the Title to that of an *Hiſtorical and Critical Dictionary*. The next thing which hinder'd his finiſhing this Work ſooner, was his Curiouſneſs in avoiding all matters to be met with in *Moreri* and other *Dictionarys*, and moſt other matters which he foreſaw wou'd be taken into thoſe which learn'd Men were preparing in divers Parts of *Europe*. He even induſtriouſly declin'd whatever was to be met with in ſome new Books, which were or might be in every bodys hands, ſuch, for example, as Mr. *du Pin*'s *Bibliotheque of Eccleſiaſtical Authors*. He wou'd not put his Readers to the charge of buying the ſame thing twice over; tho by conſulting their Intereſt he depriv'd himſelf of the greateſt Fund of Matter that Hiſtory furniſhes, and the faireſt Harveſt, without any great trouble in the gathering. We may therefore eaſily imagine, that this *Dictionary* requir'd more time than ordina-

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ry, ſince the Author had affected to bring nothing into it which had been handled or digeſted by others. We might add a third Reaſon, from the change he was oblig'd to make in the choice of his Articles. By his firſt Scheme he ſhou'd have taken in the Articles *Perſonal* and *Real* promiſcuouſly; but he was given to underſtand, that 'twere better he confin'd himſelf to the former; which likewiſe cut him out of another great parcel of his Materials. However, that the Articles of this kind which had appear'd in his Specimen might not be loſt, he caſt 'em at the latter end of his Work into the form of Diſſertations. But when I ſay Mr. *Bayle* avoided repeating matters to be met with in other Dictionarys, as that of *Moreri*, &c. I don't mean that he did not ſpeak of the ſame Perſons; for 'tis certain there are a great many Articles in his Dictionary to be found in *Moreri*, but they ſcarce contain a Word of what *Moreri* ſays. Nor did this difference in the Oeconomy of the two Works lie only in the different Diſpoſition, in the Turn, in the Manner of applying or explaining; but in the Facts and groſs Materials, which were wholly

different. He even ſometimes refers to *Moreri*, and contents himſelf with modeſty glancing at the Overſights of this Author. In a word, this Dictionary of Mr. *Bayle*'s is not a heavy Work, ſtuft with Genealogys or bare Facts, but paints out thoſe he ſpeaks of to the life, unfolds the Circumſtances of their Lives, and the Motives of their Conduct, help'd out with Reflections which give a juſter Idea, and enable us to paſs a Judgment on ſurer grounds, and with more certainty. He treats in it of matters of Religion, Morality and Philoſophy, with much Erudition; ſo that it's a Dictionary of an Order intirely new and ſingular. In the Body of each Article, he gives only a ſhort and conciſe Account of the Perſon, but makes amends in the Commentary, or Remarks which are caſt at the bottom. They are an agreeable *Miſcellany*, and ſuted to the taſte of all ſorts of Readers. They contain things grave and ſerious for thoſe whoſe aim is Inſtruction; and others humorous and ſprightly for thoſe who would only unbend and divert themſelves. But what moſt diſtinguiſhes this from all other Dictionarys, is that Spirit of Impartiality and

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Diſintereſtedneſs which runs thro the whole. Mr. *Bayle* does the part of a faithful and ſincere Hiſtorian, as to what concerns Heretics and falſe Religions; and not only cenſures, as occaſion preſents, the Errors of Fact to their Diſadvantage, but the falſe Reaſonings alſo, and falſe Raillerys of Controvertiſts of what Denomination ſoever; and ſhews we muſt not judg of Perſons or Partys by the Writings of their Enemys.

In ſpeaking of the antient Philoſophers, he endeavors to ſet their Opinions in the cleareſt Light, and to ſhew the ſtrong and the weak ſide of 'em: And ſometimes takes a Pleaſure in puſhing their Arguments farther perhaps than ever themſelves had done. As he had obſerv'd, that in matters of Religion the ignorant are always the moſt deciſive and violent, and that each Party is ſo fond of its own Tenets as to think 'em infallible, which has produc'd infinite Miſchiefs in the World; he endeavors to work Men to a greater Moderation in their Opinions, and more becoming the Weakneſs of the human Underſtanding. 'Twas this put him upon urging the Difficultys of the *Manicheans*

cheans on the Origin of Evil, and the Permiſſion of Sin. His Deſign was to make thoſe who pronounce with ſo much Poſitiveneſs and Arrogance upon all points of Religion, in ſome degree ſenſible, that a ridiculous Sect can make Objections, very hard to get over or account for. He wou'd fain mortify human Reaſon, or at leaſt check it in its precipitate Judgments, and its adopting Opinions without a fair Examination. The greateſt part of our Theologiſts appear'd to him too deciſive, and he was for having People ſpeak but doubtfully on things of a doubtful nature. In this Diſpoſition he took an ill-natur'd Pleaſure in ſhocking their Aſſurance, and ſhewing, that ſome Truths which paſs for evident, are obſcur'd and ſurrounded with ſo many Difficultys, that 'twere more prudent in many Caſes to ſuſpend their Deciſions. He alſo endeavor'd to inſpire the ſame Temper with regard to Hiſtorical matters. A thorow Experience had render'd him difficult on this Head. He had diſcuſs'd ſo many Facts, never call'd in queſtion by the Body of the Learn'd, and which he had actually diſcover'd to be falſe, that he was grown ſuſpicious of all, and gave credit to Hiſto-

Hiſtorians only conditionally, and till he cou'd come at further Information. In this Diſpoſition he inculcated to his Readers the avoiding precipitate Judgments, and not too lightly believing all they meet with in Hiſtory.

This Work was receiv'd by the Publick with the ſame Eagerneſs as all his other Productions; and the beſt Judges did not think it at all below the Opinion conceiv'd of it. Yet it was not poſſible it ſhou'd pleaſe all the World. As ſoon as it appear'd in *France*, the Booksellers of *Paris*, who had a deſign of reprinting it, apply'd to the Chancellor for a Licence; who order'd the *Abbé Renaudot*, Author of the Gazet, to examine whether there was any thing in it againſt the State, or the Romiſh Religion. This Abbot made his Report, *That the very worſt things ſaid for fifty Years paſt againſt the Catholick Religion, were to be found in the ſeveral parts of this Dictionary: That the Catholick Authors were abus'd; that there were Elogys all along on the Calviniſt Miniſters; and whatever cou'd render the Reign of* Louis *the* XIV. *odious, with regard to the Revocation of the Edict of* Nants, *and the Complaints of the Refugees: That there was a viſible Affec-*

Affectation in the whole, of raking up whatever was most blackning and injurious to the Persons of the late Kings of France. This Judgment was pardonable in an Abbot, and a Pensioner to the Court, and one bred up in Principles of Superstition and Slavery. Had he kept to those two Points to which the Chancellor's Order confin'd him, they might have got him to pass it; but he wou'd needs assume the Airs of a learned Man and a Critick, and be thought a rigid Casuist. On the other hand, Mr. *Jurieu*, who had bin criticiz'd in several places of the Dictionary, gather'd up some Extracts from Letters, written either by Bigots, or Enemys to his Adversary; and according to his old Custom, suppress'd the Authors Names, and join'd 'em to the *Abbé*'s Judgment. But finding all these Pieces together did not blacken Mr. *Bayle* and his Dictionary as much as he desir'd, he added Remarks of his own, in which he pour'd out all his Gall; and intitl'd the whole, *The Judgment of the Publick, and of the* Abbé Renaudot *in particular, on the Sieur* Bayle's *Critical Dictionary*. He got this Libel distributed to the Synod then sitting at *Delft*, and cabal'd as much as pos-

poſſible to obtain a Condemnation of the *Critical Dictionary*: but the Synod had no regard to his Sollicitations, nor wou'd they ſo much as deliberate on the matter.

The Conſiſtory of *Roterdam* ſignifying to Mr. *Bayle*, that he had taken ſomewhat too great a liberty in his Article on *David*, and other places of his Dictionary, he promis'd to give 'em all poſſible Satisfaction. In the mean time he publiſh'd a Paper, intitul'd, *Reflections on a Pamphlet ſtil'd, The Judgment of the Publick*, &c. in which he advertis'd, that he was drawing up a Defence, which in the Opinion of all unprejudic'd Readers ſhou'd demonſtrate the Unfairneſs of his Cenſors. This Apology was to be printed at the beginning, or the end of the ſecond Edition of his *Dictionary*. He reſerv'd almoſt every thing conſiderable againſt the pretended *Judgment of the Publick*, to this Defence; and confin'd himſelf to a few Obſervations, which tho drawn up careleſly and in a hurry, did yet ſerve to expoſe the ridiculouſneſs of Mr. *Jurieu's* Accuſations and Extracts from his anonymous Letters. What he ſaid to juſtify his Criticiſms in the *Dictionary* on ſome of Mr.

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Jurieu's Books, of which he had formerly ſpoke advantageouſly in his other Writings, was very curious and judicious. As to the *Abbé Renaudot*'s Judgment, he found it ſo full of Miſtakes, Falſhoods, and Impertinences, that he declar'd, if ever he confuted it, it ſhou'd not be till he was certify'd, that the Author avow'd it for his, ſuch as it was printed in *Holland*. This *Abbé*, who had no deſign of making this Judgment publick, and therefore had not bin over exact in drawing it up, dreaded Mr. *Bayle*'s returning to the Charge, notwithſtanding his Declaration; and in this fright apply'd to the late Mr. *De Wit*, to whom he was known, and entreated him to oblige Mr. *Bayle* not to write againſt him, promiſing never to meddle with him more. Mr. *Bayle* was glad of this occaſion of ſhewing his Deference for Mr. *De Wit*, who had honor'd him in a particular manner with his Friendſhip; and freely conſented to a perpetual Truce. This, my Lord, is the reaſon of his taking no notice of this difference in the ſecond Edition of his *Critical Dictionary*. He even carry'd the Civility ſo far, as not to inſert in it his *Reflections on the Judgment of the*

the Publick, &c. how neceſſary ſoever this might be. He contents himſelf with citing 'em, and referring his Reader thither. I muſt here obſerve, that Mr. *St. Evremond*, who had a particular Eſteem for Mr. *Bayle*, and read his Dictionary with a world of Pleaſure, wou'd give himſelf the trouble of defending him againſt Mr. *Renaudot*. But as he ſaw that this *Abbé*'s writing was only a mere Declamation, he thought it beſt to anſwer him in that fine and delicate Irony of which he was ſo much a Maſter.

In 1699. Mr. *Bayle* gave a third Edition of his *Reflections on Comets*, with an Advertiſement of the Reaſons why the Stile was all along that of a Roman Catholick, whether the Subject was Religion or Politicks; and why this Edition was not, as he had promis'd, enlarg'd with new Proofs, and new Anſwers to the Difficultys. He accounts for the firſt, by telling the occaſion of his writing this Book; the deſign of having it printed at *Paris*, and ſome other Particulars mention'd before. As to the ſecond Article, he ſays, that having conſider'd this Book was already but too like thoſe Rivers which make their 1699.

their Courſe by continual windings, he cou'd inſert no more Digreſſions without rendring it perplext in the reading; ſo that he reſerv'd his Additions for a new Tome, which ſhou'd be printed as ſoon as he was a little further advanc'd in his *Critical Dictionary*, on which he was now at work.

Much about this time Mr. *le Clerc* publiſh'd a Work intitled, *Parrhaſiana*, or *Miſcellaneous Reflections on Subjects of Criticiſm, Hiſtory, Morality, and Politicks.* Here he endeavor'd to ſolve the Difficultys of the *Manicheans*, which Mr. *Bayle* had laid out in his Dictionary: and to overthrow all theſe, he thought it ſufficient to make an *Origeniſt* anſwer; adding, *That if a Man of this Form was able to put the* Manicheans *to ſilence, what might not be expected from thoſe who reaſon'd infinitely better?* But before he enters into the matter, he declares, *That in anſwering the Objections of the* Manicheans, *he had no deſign of inſinuating any thing to Mr.* Bayle's *prejudice; that he had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of his being a favorer of their Opinions.* He added, *That he was perſuaded he had not taken the Philoſophical Liberty of ſhewing, on many occaſions, what cou'd be ſaid*

ſaid for and againſt 'em without diſguiſe, out of any other deſign, than juſt to ſtart Game for thoſe whoſe Heads were turn'd for the Matters he treated, and not to favor thoſe whoſe Reaſons he urg'd: That, in fine, this was a piece of Juſtice Mr. Bayle *had a right to demand from his Readers, and cou'd not be deny'd him.*

In *October* of the following Year, the Princeſs *Sophia* of *Hanover*, and the late Queen of *Pruſſia*, then Electreſs of *Brandenburg*, made a ſmall Tour in *Holland* and *Flanders*. You, my Lord, can't be a ſtranger that theſe illuſtrious Princeſſes are no leſs diſtinguiſh'd by the rare Talents of the Mind, than by their Elevation and high Rank. Their Penetration and Inſight into the moſt profound and abſtracted Sciences, has always entertain'd the wonder of thoſe who have had the happineſs to approach 'em. Nor did they diſdain ſometimes to diſcourſe with Perſons of Wit and Learning. When their Highneſſes came to *Roterdam*, they let Mr. *Bayle*, whoſe Writings they had been well acquainted with, know they ſhou'd be glad to ſee him; but it being ſomewhat late at Night, he excus'd himſelf. Some days after Mr. *Baſnage* happning to go to the 1700.

Hague, where these Princesses were, the Count *de Dhona*, who knew they had an esteem for Mr. *Bayle*, desir'd he would bring him thither. He brought him soon after, and the Count presented him to their Highnesses, who receiv'd him in a very obliging manner, and did him the honour to discourse with him on matters of great importance. Mr. *Basnage* was receiv'd no less kindly; and their Highnesses desir'd the Count of *Dhona* to take 'em into his care, and would have 'em go with 'em to *Delft*: but Mr. *Bayle*, not fit for making his court to the Great, found means of getting off of this Journy, and took his leave at the *Hague*.

1702. The second Edition of the *Critical Dictionary* was publish'd in the beginning of 1702. in three Volumes in *Folio*, enlarg'd to near double the bulk. Mr. *Bayle* distinguish'd the Additions with so much care, that they were visible at first sight. He struck out of the Article of *David* what had been disrelish'd by the Consistory of *Rotterdam*, and some Periods besides which were thought a little too free. He corrected the Errors of the first Edition, discover'd either by himself, or observ'd to

him

him by others. In this laſt caſe he expreſs'd his Acknowledgments to thoſe who had furniſh'd him with Memoirs, and fail'd not to name 'em when he thought it proper. Never was any Man farther than he from the humour of ſome Authors, who can't bear being contradicted, and who fly into a rage on the leaſt attempt to undeceive 'em. He made an Addition to the Article of *Origen*, ſhewing, that the Anſwers Mr. *Le Clerc* had furniſh'd his *Origeniſt*, were as incapable of ſatisfying the *Manichean* Objections on the Origin of Evil as the other Syſtems. 'Twas Mr. *Bayle*'s Opinion, that natural Light enables us not to ſolve theſe Objections, whether we go upon St. *Auſtin*'s Syſtem, or that of *Molina* and the *Arminians*; or whether we have recourſe to that of the *Socinians*: From whence he concluded, there was no way but to acquieſce in Revelation, and give over reaſoning in this matter. At the end of the whole Work, he inſerted four long Diſſertations to juſtify or clear ſome Points cenſur'd in his Dictionary. The firſt concern'd thoſe who were ſcandaliz'd at his ſaying, there had been Atheiſts and *Epicureans* who excel'd

moſt Idolaters in purity of Manners. After having made ſeveral Reflections on this Subject, he refers, for more ample ſatisfaction, to the Continuation of his *Miſcellaneous Reflections on Comets*, which he had formerly promis'd. The Second ſhews how we ought to underſtand what he had advanc'd touching the Objections of the *Manicheans*. He cloſes it with ſix Propoſitions, which being a kind of Abſtract of it, I ſhall here ſet down in his own words.

1. That it is a Property of the Goſpel-Myſterys, to be incompaſs'd with Difficultys which natural Light can't reſolve.

2. That Unbelievers can't fairly draw any Advantage from this Aſſertion, That the Maxims of Philoſophy afford no Solutions of the Difficultys they propoſe againſt the Myſterys of the Goſpel.

3. That the Objections of the *Manicheans* on the Origin of Evil, and upon Predeſtination, ought not to be conſider'd in general as bearing againſt Predeſtination; but under this particular Notion, as the Origin of Evil, the Decrees of God, *&c.* are ſome of the moſt inconceivable Myſterys of Chriſtianity.

4. That

4. That it ought to ſatisfy every good Chriſtian, that his Faith is founded on the Teſtimony of God's Word.

5. That the *Manichean* Syſtem, conſider'd in it ſelf, is abſurd, indefenſible, and contrary to the Ideas of Order; that it is liable to be retorted, and not able to remove the Difficultys.

6. That on the whole, no body can be ſcandaliz'd at giving up the Point, but muſt be oblig'd to look on the Doctrines of the moſt Orthodox Divines (the *Calviniſts)* as ſcandalous; becauſe all he has ſaid on this matter, was but the natural and unavoidable Conſequence of their Opinions; and that he did only ſet forth in a more prolix manner what they teach in a more extenſive way.

The third Diſſertation was deſign'd to ſhew, that what he had ſaid of *Pyrrhoniſm* cou'd be no way prejudicial to Religion; and the fourth confuted the Exceptions taken at ſome obſcene Paſſages in his Dictionary.

The Year after Mr. *Bayle* publiſh'd a Book intitled, *An Anſwer to ſome Queſtions from a Country Gentleman.* This was truly no more than a Collection of ſeveral ſcatter'd Facts, which cou'd not well be brought into his *Critical Dictionary,* 1703.

but were nevertheleſs curious and inſtructive. He ſignify'd that the Deſign of it was to be a Work of a middle nature, betwixt thoſe which ſerve for the Hours of Study, and thoſe which ſerve for Recreation. In this Thought he only touch'd ſlightly upon ſome matters which might have been treated with more depth; he turn'd curſorily from one Subject to another, on purpoſe to create Variety; and when oblig'd to explain ſome Points more at large, he did it in ſuch a manner as each Chapter might repreſent 'em by ſeveral different Views. In the mean time he wou'd not undertake to define the Nature or Kind of ſuch a Book; that he left to the diſcretion of his Reader. He only ſaid it reſembled a ſort of Writings frequent in the *16th* Century, under the Title of *Varia Lectiones*, or to this purpoſe. 'Twas a Medly of Hiſtory, Criticiſm, polite Learning, *&c.* but after all was not receiv'd with the ſame applauſe as the reſt of his Works; becauſe the greateſt part of his Readers did not take his Deſign right, or had not a ſufficient fund of Literature to turn what he furniſh'd 'em to the beſt advantage.

1794. At laſt Mr. *Bayle* acquitted himſelf

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of his ſo often repeated Promiſe of giving a Defence of his *Miſcellaneous Reflections on Comets*. He publiſh'd two Volumes on this occaſion in 1704. under the Title of, *A Continuation of the Miſcellaneous Reflections written to a Doctor of the* Sorbon, *on occaſion of the Comet which appear'd in* December 1680. *or an Anſwer to the Difficultys propos'd to the Author by* Mr. ***. In his *Miſcellaneous Reflections* he had advanc'd among other things, *That Atheiſm was not worſe than Pagan Idolatry*, and this was what wholly determin'd him to write a Defence. But when once engag'd to take up his Pen in juſtification of this Point, he thought himſelf oblig'd to ſatisfy ſeveral Difficultys ſtarted on other Paſſages in the Work; and at the ſame time judg'd, that he ought to regulate the Order of his Anſwers by that of the Objections, which were diſpos'd according to the Chapters in his Book. He obſerv'd this method to the end of his firſt Tome; but for fear of riſing to a greater bulk than at firſt deſign'd, he quitted it in the ſecond, and confin'd himſelf intirely to his Parallel of Paganiſm and Atheiſm. Yet this ſecond Volume was not ſufficient to take in the

whole Diſpute; ſo that he was oblig'd to adjourn ſeveral Objections left undiſcuſs'd to a third Volume.

In this Work Mr. *Bayle* takes ſome exceptions at the Learned Dr. *Cudworth*, who to account for the formation of Plants and Animals had ſuppos'd I don't know what kind of *Plaſtick Natures*, or immaterial Subſtances, which regularly form'd all theſe Beings, without any Knowledg or Idea of their own Effects. He inſinuates, that they who admit this Hypotheſis, do unawares deſtroy the moſt ſenſible Argument for the Exiſtence of a Deity, drawn from a Contemplation of the Univerſe; and give the *Stratonic Philoſophers* a handle to elude it by retorting the Argument: For when we urge the Exiſtence of a God and Creator of all Things, from the Symmetry, Subordination, Beauty and Order of the ſeveral parts of the Univerſe, we manifeſtly ſuppoſe, that a Being which has no knowledg of what it does, nor of the Plan it is to fill up, nor of the End at which it ſhou'd drive, can produce nothing regular. The *Stratoniſts*, who pretend the World is the Effect of a blind Cauſe, are diſtreſs'd by this Argument; which yet loſes all

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its force if once we ſuppoſe, there are Beings which form the moſt regular and beautiful Parts of the Univerſe, without the leaſt knowledg of what they do. Mr. *Le Clerc*, who had given an Extract of Dr. *Cudworth*'s *Intellectual Syſtem* in his *Bibliotheque Choiſie*, and had honor'd the *Plaſtick Natures* with his own Suffrage, undertook their defence too againſt Mr. *Bayle* in the fifth Tome of this Journal. Mr. *Bayle* anſwer'd him in *The Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned* for *Auguſt* 1704. and Mr. *Le Clerc* reply'd in the ſixth Tome of his *Bibliotheque Choiſie*. Mr. *Bayle* wou'd not yield; he publiſh'd new Reflections on this Subject in *the Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned* for *December* of the ſame Year; which obliſig'd Mr. *Le Clerc* to defend his Plaſtick Natures with more Zeal than ever, and beſtow 'em an Article in his *7th* Tome of the *Bibliotheque Choiſie*. And here he alſo reſum'd the Diſpute begun in his *Parrhaſiana* on the Doctrine of the *Manicheans*, and defended his *Origeniſt* againſt Mr. *Bayle*'s attacks in his *Critical Dictionary*.

On another hand, Mr. *Bernard*, making an Extract of the Continuation of the

the *Miſcellaneous Reflections*, in his *Account of the Republick of Letters* for *February* and *March* 1705, attack'd Mr. *Bayle* in his advancing, that the Proof of the Exiſtence of a Deity from general Conſent was not ſolid; and on his Parallel of Atheiſm and Paganiſm: but propos'd his Objections with much decency, and deference for Mr. *Bayle*. *As I am perſuaded*, ſays he, *that he ſincerely aims at Truth, and is beſides preparing a third Volume; I'm ſatisfy'd, without having any need to conſult him, that he won't take it ill if I propoſe ſome Difficultys, as they occur to my Thoughts; while I obſerve the Rules of Civility, and write with that eſteem and reſpect I profeſs for his Perſon and Merit.*

Laſtly, There appear'd about this time a Work intitled, *The Conformity of Faith and Reaſon, or a Defence of Religion againſt the principal Difficultys ſcatter'd in Mr.* Bayle's *Dictionary*, written by Mr. *Jaquelot*. He's a Miniſter, and has a fine Tincture of Divinity, and of the Carteſian Philoſophy. He writes with a deal of Fire, and in a Stile intirely form'd to gain the Applauſes of the People. Then he does not induſtriouſly ſhun occaſions of ſignalizing himſelf,

himſelf, and diſcovering his Merit. He prefer'd the Honor of being Chaplain to the King of *Pruſſia*, to the Advantage of Miniſter to the Nobility at the *Hague*; which gave him an opportunity of openly renouncing the *Calviniſt* Syſtem, to embrace that of the *Arminians*. After giving this ſhort Elogy on Mr. *Jaquelot*, permit me, my Lord, to tell you the Reaſon which induc'd him to write againſt Mr. *Bayle*; it's ſomewhat ſingular. He was angry at Mr. *Bayle*'s citing his *Diſſertation on the Being of a God* in the Dictionary, without giving it a higher Elogy than that of a *fine Book*. He murmur'd heavily, and made his Complaints in ſeveral places. It's true, he durſt not ſay they were founded on his having made uſe of the Epithet *fine* in the Poſitive, inſtead of *very fine* in a Superlative degree, or ſome other ſublimer Expreſſion. He pretended the word *fine* was ironically apply'd. Mr. *Bayle* finding this, got one who was a Friend to both, to proteſt to him he had us'd the word in its natural ſignification; and he had actually us'd the ſame Epithet before in relation to a Book, of which no body cou'd ſuſpect he ſpoke ironically, it being written

written by Mr. *Baſnage*. But no Proteſtations cou'd appeaſe him: He reſolv'd to revenge the Inſult, and make Mr. *Bayle* ſuffer the puniſhment of his Temerity. But, tho by the Title of his Book it ſeem'd to be wholly deſign'd againſt Mr. *Bayle*, 'tis certain he was concern'd but in a very ſmall part of it. The reſt was only a Repetition of what Mr. *Jaquelot* had ſaid in 2 former Books. What concern'd Mr. *Bayle*, might be reduc'd to theſe three Heads: The Liberty of Indifference; the Origin of Evil; and the Objections which Pyrrhoniſm might beget upon ſome reveal'd Doctrines. I muſt take notice of one much more conſiderable ſlur in this Title. The words *in defence of Religion* naturally led to a belief, that Mr. *Bayle* had attack'd Religion; whereas he had confin'd himſelf to the ſhewing, that the Philoſophical Objections againſt what Theology teaches concerning the Origin, and the Conſequences of Sin, are ſo ſtrong, that our Reaſon is too weak to ſolve 'em; and that therefore we ought to have the ſame regard to the Myſtery of Predeſtination, as to all the other Goſpel-Myſterys; believe on the Authority of God, tho we can't compre-

comprehend, nor reconcile 'em to the Maxims of Philoſophy. I ought not to forget, that Mr. *Jaquelot*, notwithſtanding his Reſentment, declar'd, He had no deſign of arraigning either the Perſon or Heart of Mr. *Bayle*. *I have an eſteem for him*, adds he, *on account of his Learning, Wit, Penetration, and all thoſe fine Talents which diſtinguiſh a Man in the Republick of Letters. I ſay it once again*, continues he, *I have no deſign of ſcanning his Intention: That I leave to the Judgment of God and his own Conſcience. He declares theſe are Difficultys which he propoſes, purely to provoke others to find out a Solution of 'em.*

You can't be ignorant, my Lord, that 1705.
ſeveral Perſons of good worth had often invited Mr. *Bayle* into *England* for the ſake of his Converſation; but he always refus'd their Offers, tho advantageous, and truly becoming the Perſons who propos'd 'em. In 1705. the Earl of *Albemarle* made him a Propoſal of coming to live in his Family, till his Son, my Lord *Bury*, ſhou'd be at a proper Age to come under his care. He was even pleas'd to write him a very obliging Letter on this Subject; but Mr. *Bayle* was too much in love with his Solitude

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to quit it. He thank'd his Lordſhip for his Goodneſs, and pray'd him not to take it ill that he did not accept of the Honour. For ſome time paſt he had been imploy'd in correcting, and making a Supplement to his Dictionary; and 'twas purely to unbend in the Intervals of this painful Work, that he firſt undertook his *Anſwers to the Country Gentleman's Queſtions*. But the ſeveral Attacks upon him oblig'd him to alter the Scheme: *the Anſwers to the Country-Gentleman* were no longer any more than Acceſſorys; his Defences became the principal Subject of this Work. He publiſh'd the ſecond and third Volumes of 'em at the ſame time. In the ſecond Tome he gave ſome Reflections on a Treatiſe *De Origine Mali*, written by Dr. *King* Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, and printed in *London* in 1702. But as his Deſign was only to make ſome general Obſervations on the Principles of this illuſtrious Prelate, and beſides that it was a hard matter then to get the Book, he contented himſelf with examining the Extracts from it, which Mr. *Bernard* had given the Publick with a great deal of Accuracy. He alſo in the ſame Volume examin'd the reaſon Mr. *Ber-*

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nard had urg'd to support his Argument for the Existence of a Deity, founded on the general Consent of Mankind. Tho Mr. *Bernard's* Objections were brought into a few Pages, Mr. *Bayle* thought fit to bestow eight Sheets in an Answer to 'em, on purpose to set this Matter in a full light. In the third Tome he answer'd all that concern'd him in Mr. *Jaquelot's* Book. And as the Dispute between 'em turn'd principally on the Point of the Origin of Evil, he took some pains in explaining and stating the true State of the Question, to keep this Minister from starting, and make him understand what was requisite on his part to prove the conformity of Faith and Reason. *It must be prov'd,* says he, *not only that there are Principles of Philosophy favourable to our Faith, but that also the particular Maxims objected, are not quarrelling with our Articles, are really agreeable to 'em in a manner which may be distinctly conceiv'd. This Agreement,* adds he, *requires not only that your Hypothesis be accommodated to several Maxims of Philosophy, but also that it be not victoriously impugn'd by some other Maxims of Reason. Now it will be victoriously impugn'd, as long as you*

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are forc'd to defend your ſelf by unintelligible Diſtinctions, or by pleading the profoundneſs of the Subject. Mr. *Bayle* at the ſame time declar'd, his own Opinion was exactly that of the Reform'd, and particularly of Mr. *Jurieu*, who in a Work intitled, *A Judgment of the rigid and Latitudinarian Methods of explaining Providence and Grace*, had given it up, that no Hypotheſis is capable of reſolving all the Difficultys which Reaſon may ſuggeſt on the Providence of God with regard to Sin and Evil. Mr. *Bayle* alſo anſwer'd to what Mr. *Le Clerc* had offer'd in his *Bibliotheque Choiſie*, as well in defence of his *Origeniſt*, as of his Plaſtick Natures.

This Work rais'd a terrible Storm about Mr. *Bayle*. Tho he had treated his Adverſarys with extreme Civility, and had even ſhut his Eyes to ſome ſharp Touches from ſeveral of 'em, yet he cou'd not eſcape their Reſentment and Indignation. Mr. *Bernard* took occaſion in his Journal, to give a very ſmart Criticiſm on the 2 Volumes of his *Anſwer to the Country-Gentleman's Queſtions*, yet ſaid not a ſyllable in defence of the Authority of the general Conſent of the People, but promis'd a Work expreſly

preſly on this Subject, which has not yet ſeen the Light. Mr. *Le Clerc* cou'd not brook Mr. *Bayle*'s preſuming to ſtand it out againſt him ſo long, and in ſo ſturdy a manner. He expected he ſhou'd ſolemnly own the weight of his *Origeniſt*'s Reaſons, and make him his humble acknowledgments. His Indocility ſhock'd him; and without mincing the matter, he accus'd him of favoring Atheiſm, of endeavoring the ſubverſion of Religion, and of denying the Goodneſs and Holineſs of God. *I flatter'd my ſelf*, ſays he, *that poſſibly he might be brought to himſelf, and to acknowledg the Goodneſs and Holineſs of God in all his ways, after ſo fair a handle given him for getting out of this ugly buſineſs without involving his Reputation, by owning himſelf ſatisfy'd on the Diſpute, and by thanking thoſe who had remov'd his Difficultys, as is uſual in Schools of Philoſophy and Divinity. But as he takes a quite contrary courſe, and pretends he has not been ſolidly anſwer'd; 'tis fit we let him ſee we are not frightned at his Reaſonings, and ſhew the ridiculouſneſs of 'em without dallying any longer.* Then he makes a Recapitulation of the Diſpute he had hitherto

maintain'd in the Person of an *Origenist*; and after having quitted this Character, he endeavours to answer Mr. *Bayle* in his own Name. As the greatest Difficulty of the *Manicheans* concerns the Eternity of Punishments, Mr. *Le Clerc* rejected *Origen*'s Opinion which denys it, and contented himself with saying, That *the nature of the Punishments of another Life is not clearly conceiv'd by us; That we don't know but there may be divers kinds of acute Punishments at first, yet varying according to the heinousness of the Sins; nor whether God remitting these violent Inflictions afterwards, may'n't be content with abandoning those who had obstinately despis'd his Grace to the remorses of their own Conscience, which shall reproach 'em with their Ingratitude, and disquiet 'em much more by Reflections on the loss of that Felicity they shall see others enjoy. If God,* says he, *leave the condemn'd in this state (which however I don't determine, for he is not oblig'd to execute his Threats in the utmost rigor) 'tis probable their condition may be supportable, and that they may have cause to confess the Goodness of the Creator; since instead of annihilating 'em, as their Disobedience deserv'd, he preserves their Beings, and*

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leaves 'em in a State not unsupportable. Mr. *Le Clerc* deliver'd these Thoughts with a great deal of Caution. He look'd on 'em as Conjectures, and declar'd, *He did not pretend to advance 'em as undoubted Evangelical Doctrines.* Nor was he less offended at the small regard Mr. *Bayle* had shewn for his *Plastick Natures*, and his stiff manner of resisting all the Lights he had taken the pains to furnish him. A Conduct so untoward, did easily persuade him, that Mr. *Bayle* attack'd Religion thro the sides of his Plastick Natures. *At first*, says he, *I believ'd his want of understanding Dr.* Cudworth's *mind aright, might be the cause of his judging on that Hypothesis as he did: But*, adds he, *when I saw him unwilling to receive any Explications upon it, after I had three times successively set him right, I cou'd no longer doubt but the turn he had given this matter, was purely from a design of justifying Atheists.* Then he repeated a part of what he had said before on this Subject, and continued to maintain there was no room for a Retortion from the *Stratonists*; since God was the Author of those Plastick Natures, and since they acted only by his Direction.

Mr. *Bayle* oppos'd theſe new Attacks of Mr. *Le Clerc*, in a Work intitled, *An Anſwer for Mr.* Bayle *to Mr.* Le Clerc, *upon occaſion of the* 3d *and* 13th *Articles of the* 9th *Tome of his* Bibliotheque Choiſie. As he ſaw Mr. *Le Clerc* attack'd him in Perſon, and did all he cou'd to render him odious, he wou'd ſpare him no longer, and declar'd *he was guilty of raſh judging and calumny.* But becauſe the Accuſations were chiefly grounded on the Conſequences drawn from his Doctrine concerning the Origin of Evil; he gave a Summary of it under the three following Propoſitions.

1. Natural Light and Revelation clearly inform us there is but one Principle of all things, and that this Principle is infinitely perfect.

2. The means of reconciling the moral and phyſical Evil of Man with the Attributes of this one infinitely perfect Principle of all things, ſurpaſſes our Philoſophical Lights; ſo that the Objections of the *Manicheans* leave Difficultys behind, which human Reaſon is not able to ſatisfy.

3. Notwithſtanding this, we muſt ſtrenuouſly believe what the Light of Nature and Revelation teach concern-

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ing the Unity and infinite Perfection of God; as by Faith, and by our Submiſſion to the Divine Authority, we believe the Myſterys of the Trinity, Incarnation, *&c.*

Mr. *Bayle* maintain'd, That this was the Doctrine of almoſt all kind of Chriſtians; and added, *He was very ſure no one cou'd ever prove, that theſe three Propoſitions were not what he had conſtantly taught in his Works; or if he had ſeem'd to talk otherwiſe in ſome places, he had maintain'd theſe three contrary Propoſitions in others.* He afterwards confuted all Mr. *Le Clerc*'s Charge againſt him, particularly that by which he imputes to him the maintaining that God was neither good nor holy, from his having ſaid, That Reaſon comprehends not how the Goodneſs and Holineſs of God are reconcilable with Sin, and with the Miſerys of Mankind. He compar'd this Opinion with that of Mr. *Le Clerc*, and ſhew'd, that were each of 'em to diſpute with a *Manichean*, he by his Principle ſhou'd be able to ſtop his Mouth, while Mr. *Le Clerc* muſt be quite overwhelm'd with the weight of his Objections. He likewiſe ſhew'd, that the Crime which this Divine had made

of his affirming, That no Chriſtian Syſtem is capable of ſatisfying the Objections of the *Manicheans*, rebounded upon himſelf; ſince to anſwer 'em he had been oblig'd to quit all theſe Syſtems, and to form one intirely new, which after all was founded only on bare Conjectures. He thought not fit to ſay any thing farther concerning the Anſwer of Mr. *Le Clerc* under the name of an *Origeniſt*; but only ſhew'd, that what he had offer'd anew on that account, was a mere repetition of what he had ſaid before; and that the Objections remain'd in their full force. In fine, he offer'd to ſubmit this Diſpute to the Deciſion of the Univerſitys of *Holland*; and adviſ'd him to preſent Extracts of the Propoſitions condemn'd by him in his Works; and to pray their Judgment upon this Queſtion of Fact, *Whether the Propoſitions tranſcrib'd from Mr.* Bayle's *Books are a ſufficient Proof of the Charge Mr.* Le Clerc *has drawn up againſt him? Mr.* Le Clerc *pretends they are*; *Mr.* Bayle *denys it, and further alledges, they contain nothing contrary to the Confeſſions of the Reform'd Churches of* France *and* Holland.

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He charg'd Mr. *Le Clerc* with contradicting himself on occasion of the Plastick Natures. For example, Mr. *Le Clerc* had first maintain'd, that these Beings *were only Instruments in the Hand of God*; That God regulated all their Actions; That they were properly *instrumental Causes produc'd and apply'd by the principal Cause*: And yet he pretended that this Hypothesis of Dr. *Cudworth* differ'd from that of the *Cartesians*. But Mr. *Bayle* let him see, that in this sense it was tantamount to the Hypothesis of these Philosophers; for tho they suppose God the immediate Author of all the Effects of Nature, yet they never deny'd that Bodys were properly the Instruments God uses for the production of Plants and Animals. And therefore he insisted, that these Natures ought to be consider'd as active Principles executing the Plan of God, the Author of their Virtue and Existence; yet without standing in need of being continually urg'd on and directed in such a manner as Workmen are who execute the Plan, suppose of an Ingineer. Now he maintain'd, that according to this Explication, which must have been that of Dr. *Cudworth* himself,

ſince Mr. *Le Clerc* ſaid, that this Learned Man rejected *Des Cartes*'s Hypotheſis, the Retortion of the *Stratoniſts* wou'd be juſt. Mr. *Le Clerc* finding himſelf pinch'd by this Difficulty, rectify'd his Hypotheſis, and anſwer'd, That he never meant, the Plaſtick Natures were paſſive Inſtruments; which, ſays he, was againſt Dr. *Cudworth*'s Opinion. He added, that they act under the direction of God; That God guides and conducts them ſtill, tho we know nothing of the manner how; That if they act regularly of themſelves, ſtill they act under the direction of God, who interpoſes in what manner, and as often as he pleaſes; That all the difference between this, and the Operations of brute Beaſts *regularly performing ſeveral Actions when train'd to 'em by Men*, tho they neither know what they do, nor the reaſon why, is, that we know nothing of the manner of *God's interpoſing*, whereas we know the manner how Men intervene with regard to the Actions of Brutes. Mr. *Bayle* reply'd, that a Creature deſtitute of all knowledg, may, without doubt, by the direction of God, perform many things with as much regularity as any intelli-

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gent Being; That there was no difficulty in comprehending this: but at the ſame time 'twas neceſſary this Direction ſhou'd be perpetual and uninterrupted; and conſequently 'twas neceſſary that God ſhou'd apply and direct the Plaſtick Natures by an undiſcontinued Act, from the time their Operation began till ſuch time as it was perfected: Whence it neceſſarily follow'd, that he interven'd ſo, as that the Plaſtick Nature was only a paſſive Inſtrument in his hands; and therefore that Dr. *Cudworth* cou'd not avoid the Retortion, but by ſuppoſing what the *Carteſians* ſuppoſe. He added, that the Example of Beaſts ſtrengthen'd the Difficulty; becauſe if we rightly conſider all the Services they do us, we ſhall find that in every Inſtance where their own Knowledg ſerves 'em not as a Guide, they muſt be urg'd on and directed as if they were mere Machines. He alledg'd the Authority of Mr. *Leibnitz*, who had allow'd the Retortion of the *Stratoniſts* juſt, on a ſuppoſition that the Plaſtick Natures were active Principles, and true efficient Cauſes. I don't know what Dr. *Cudworth* might have ſaid to this Diſpute had he been alive; but

but to me it ſeems evident, that this Learned Man look'd on the Plaſtick Natures as Cauſes purely inſtrumental. Mr. *Wiſe* in *his Confutation of the Reaſon and Philoſophy of Atheiſm*, which is an improv'd Abridgment of Dr. *Cudworth*'s Syſtem, ſuppoſes the ſame thing. He aſſerts, that the Plaſtick Natures are only inſtrumental Cauſes; and compares 'em, as Dr. *Cudworth* does, to paſſive Inſtruments, ſuch as a Saw, a Hammer, the Hands of Workmen, *&c.* Which ſhews that theſe Gentlemens Hypotheſis is much the ſame with that of the *Carteſians*. Had Mr. *Bayle* underſtood *Engliſh*, and been able to read their Works, he had made his advantage of 'em.

This Anſwer ſerv'd only to incenſe Mr. *Le Clerc* the more. He anſwer'd it in the 10th Tome of his *Bibliotheque Choiſie*, and complain'd in his turn of the Author's manner of treating him. He endeavor'd to make good his former Charge, and examin'd the three Propoſitions to which Mr. *Bayle* had reduc'd his Doctrine. He perſiſted in maintaining, that 'tis the buſineſs of our Reaſon to form juſt Ideas of the Goodneſs and Holineſs of God; and that to

admit

admit any others, is in the first place denying these, and in the next place having none at all. In a word, he maintain'd, that we ought to judg of the Perfections of God by our natural Lights; and that if we once suppose, that what is unjust according to human Ideas, is not so according to the divine, we must no longer pretend to talk upon the moral Attributes or Perfections of God, since we know nothing of 'em; and that this Distinction leads directly to Irreligion and Atheism.

In answer to Mr. *Bayle*'s Proposal of submitting their Dispute to the Judgment of the Universitys of *Holland*, he advis'd him to sollicit their Approbation of his Works; and if they declar'd they found nothing in 'em contrary to their own Opinion, he wou'd publickly acknowledg his Error in denying that his Doctrine was agreeable to theirs. As to the Plastick Natures, he judg'd it unnecessary to say any more of 'em: *I look upon Mr.* Bayle *as too fully confuted, to touch upon that Matter again: He has found it impossible to shew, that this Opinion gives Atheists a handle for retorting one of our best Arguments against 'em. This was his principal Design, and in this*

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he has miſcarry'd. He added, that he did not believe Mr. *Leibnitz* wou'd upon ſecond Thoughts find the Atheiſts had any ground for retorting Dr. *Cudworth*'s Opinion; becauſe they who thorowly examin'd it, eſpecially after what he had ſaid, wou'd ſee quite the contrary.

The Fruitfulneſs of Mr. *Jaquelot*'s Pen made him ſoon appear again upon the Stage. He publiſh'd a Book intitl'd, *An Examination of Mr.* Bayle's *Theology, as ſcatter'd in his Critical Dictionary, in his Reflections on Comets, and in his Anſwers to the Country Gentleman; wherein the Conformity of Faith and Reaſon is defended againſt his Anſwers.* 'Twas eaſily ſeen by this Title, that Mr. *Jaquelot* would skirmiſh no longer, but was reſolv'd to come to a general Engagement, and fight it out deſperately without giving or taking Quarter. Accordingly he never fail'd levelling at his Adverſary all the deadly Strokes his Wit cou'd deviſe. He accus'd him anew of attacking Religion, and of pretending to prove, that a Society of Atheiſts might ſubſiſt altogether as well as a Society of Chriſtians. He reply'd to what Mr. *Bayle* had anſwer'd concerning the

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Origin of Evil, the Permiſſion of Sin, and the other Matters relating to theſe Queſtions; and in Mr. *Le Clerc's* Judgment *ſaid enough to ſatisfy Mr.* Bayle, *had he bin willing to receive ſatisfaction.* Yet he did not carry the Argument quite ſo far as Mr. *Le Clerc*, and he own'd the Incomprehenſibility in part. He perſiſted in charging Mr. *Bayle* with a deſign of deſtroying the Liberty of Man; and maintain'd what he had formerly advanc'd, that the Controverſy about Liberty, which made ſuch a Breach among Chriſtians, was only a Diſpute about Words. If your Lordſhip wou'd be pleas'd to forgive my quitting the Character of a Hiſtorian for a moment, to take up that of a Philoſopher, I ſhou'd not ſtick to ſay, that Mr. *Jaquelot* had reaſon of his ſide. The Learned may diſpute till they are weary; ſtill in ſpite of their Controverſys, they'll all have the ſame kind of Free-will: and 'twere really very ſtrange they ſhou'd have a different kind of Liberty, or, if you will, that one ſet of Men ſhou'd be in reality free, and others not, becauſe thoſe are bred up in the Arminian, and theſe in the Calviniſtical School. What's very ſingular in the mat-

matter is, that each Party appeals to his own Experience; as if all Men were not made the same way. Your Lordship perhaps will ask, why Mr. *Jaquelot* after such a Discovery shou'd abjure the Calvinistical Hypothesis to embrace that of *Arminius*? But this in all appearance proceeded from his fancying that the *Calvinists* were the Men who kept all this strife about Words: These will undoubtedly charge it upon the *Arminians*, and pretend that these Gentlemen, did they fairly reflect on what passes within 'em, and express themselves in a clear and distinct manner, wou'd easily perceive the Illusion they are under. Be that how it will, 'tis can't be deny'd but the Research is very difficult, if we consider that Men of great Parts, and of like Sentiments in other matters, can't find an expedient for coming to any Agreement in this. Nor is any thing more usual than to see 'em mistake other Mens Opinions upon it; tho perhaps this proceeds not so much from the Obscurity of the Matter, as from the Caution which is us'd on that Subject. They who have meditated the deepest upon it, keep off in

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loose and general Expressions, or never explain themselves clearly; the true reason why Opinions are often charg'd upon 'em, which they are very far from entertaining. This Method Mr. *Bayle* had taken, and he was charg'd with destroying Man's Free-will; tho he kept exactly to the Calviniſtical Hypotheſis. Mr. *Locke* muſt have done the ſame, if it be true, as I have heard ſome men ſay, that Mr. *Le Clerc* cou'd not comprehend what his Opinion was in this Point. At firſt he imagin'd him to be an *Arminian*, and was afterwards ſurpriz'd to find him talk like a *Calviniſt*. But I have been aſſur'd, there's neither ambiguity nor inconſiſtency in any thing he has ſaid on this Subject; and that a ſmall degree of attention, free from prejudice, is ſufficient to make a Man perceive that his Opinion is conformable to Mr. *Bayle*'s, to that of all the greateſt Philoſophers; and that he had ſet this Matter in a much clearer light than any one before him.

Mr. *Jurieu* made the laſt effort about this time, to let the World know he was ſtill alive, and that his Fire was not quite ſpent. He publiſh'd a ſmall Anonymous Book, intitled, *The* Roterdam

dam *Philoſopher accus'd, arraign'd, and convicted*; and did not forget to repeat moſt of what he had ever alledg'd againſt Mr. *Bayle*, without taking any notice of the Anſwers made him. He had formerly declar'd againſt Meſſieurs *Jaquelot* and *Bernard* with his uſual violence, and accus'd 'em of Heterodoxy before the Synods: he had likewiſe play'd Mr. *Le Clerc* ſome ſcurvy pranks, and made ſome rude attacks upon him not long before: but when he ſaw how theſe Gentlemen began to handle Mr. *Bayle*, he ſtrain'd hard to ſpeak well of 'em. 'Tis true, he put 'em in mind of their old Diſgraces, but he did it by a ſide Wind. He introduc'd Mr. *Bayle*'s Friends rejecting the Teſtimony of theſe three Miniſters. Mr. *Jaquelot*, he makes 'em ſay, *had been piqu'd at Mr.* Bayle's *not ſpeaking of his Book of the Exiſtence of a Deity with eſteem enough. Beſides, he's a Perſon ſomething more than ſuſpect, and who in ſome differences he has had, has not acquitted himſelf with Honor. Mr.* Bernard *has been admoniſh'd by the Synods*; *Mr.* Le Clerc *is a Pelagian, a Socinian, convicted of Hereſy and Impiety.* However, theſe Gentlemen reliſh'd his Compliments, much more than they reſented his

his Raillerys: They ſeem'd to forget all that was paſt, and cajol'd him in their turn; which produc'd a very edifying Scene.

As Mr. *Bayle* had always maintain'd, that his Doctrine concerning the weakneſs of Human Reaſon, *&c.* was exactly that of the Reform'd Divines, and particularly of Mr. *Jurieu*; this Miniſter endeavor'd to find out a difference between 'em, but declar'd at the ſame time, *That the unlimited Power and Sovereignty of God over the Creatures, is that which ought to put Men to ſilence, eſpecially with regard to whatever diſturbs or wounds our Reaſon in the Methods of Providence; and that this alone deſtroys all the Difficultys of the Manicheans.* Yet this was the very thing Mr. *Bayle* always contended for; he ſhew'd that theſe Difficultys were not to be reſolv'd by Reaſon; and concluded, we ought not to appeal to it in theſe matters, but ſubmit intirely to Revelation. Mr. *Jurieu* ſhew'd afterwards, that St. *Paul* had foreſeen all theſe Objections in his IX*th* Chapter to the *Romans*, and had given the only ſolid Anſwer to 'em, to wit, the Sovereignty of God over his Creatures, and the Incomprehenſibility

of his Conduct. He concluded from that paſſage where the Apoſtle crys out, *O the Depth!* &c. *that it's as plain as noon day, that the deſign of theſe words is to check the raſhneſs of thoſe falſe Learned, who wou'd have us clear all the Difficultys by the Lights of human Reaſon, and by their Philoſophical Maxims, or acknowledg that Reaſon and Divine Revelation are incompatible; as if what is above Reaſon, were always contrary to Reaſon. But it muſt be own'd,* adds he, *that this pious Exclamation of St.* Paul *ſhews the Error of thoſe Divines who wou'd find a way of reconciling Reaſon and Revelation by their Pelagian Maxims.* You ſee, my Lord, by theſe laſt words, what a Judgment Mr. *Jurieu* made on the Syſtem of Meſſieurs *Jaquelot* and *Le Clerc.* What he ſaid of it a little before is ſtill ſtronger: *I wou'd fain know,* ſays he, *why ſo many conſiderable Divines are ſtartled at this Doctrine, of the unlimited Power of God, and his Sovereignty over the Creatures; and chuſe rather to give us Elogys on the Freedom of the Creature, and the Excellency of Liberty. This is very fine; but it's of no ſervice on this occaſion, and beſides, it leads directly to Pelagianiſm. By ſhutting the door, as we imagine, againſt*

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the Impiety of the Manicheans *and* Pyrrhoniſts, *we open another, or rather leave it open; for we can't*, adds he, *avoid owning that God is Author of this Free-will he has given to Man, and which he is maſter of, ſo as to be able to prevent the abuſe of it whenever he pleaſes. By this Method therefore we ſhall never be able to ſtop the Mouths of the Profane.*

As ſoon as Mr. *Jaquelot* ſaw this Book of Mr. *Jurieu*'s, he made an Addition to his own, in which he animadverted on what he had made Mr. *Bayle*'s Friends ſay of him. At the ſame time he attack'd Mr. *Jurieu*'s own Syſtem, and pretended it open'd a door for the terrible Conſequences which the *Manicheans* drew from it. *I can't conceive*, ſays he, *how a Divine, who ſeems to have rightly comprehended Mr.* Bayle's *Difficultys againſt the Hypotheſes of thoſe, who take up wholly with this Anſwer, That* we muſt ſilence our Reaſon, *ſhou'd not perceive how it follows from this Syſtem, that Human Reaſon muſt be conſtrain'd by juſt and neceſſary Conſequences to own, that God is the Cauſe of Evil, and the Author of Sin.* He afterwards declares, this was what oblig'd him to imbrace another Syſtem; and adds, *That they who won't renounce*

thoſe Hypotheſes on which Mr. Bayle *has founded his Difficultys, are indiſpenſably oblig'd to ſhew the falſity of his Conſequences and Objections, ſo as to ſatisfy the Conſcience of a rational intelligent Perſon. Elſe,* ſays he, *it's pure Perverſeneſs, and a Principle of falſe Honor, to continue in the profeſſion of Doctrines from whence ſuch horrible Conſequences are deduc'd.*

Mr. *Le Clerc,* who was in Mr. *Jaquelot*'s Sentiments here, join'd Suffrage with him in the Extract of *his Conſiderations on Mr.* Bayle's *Theology*; and took this occaſion of exhorting the *Calviniſts* to renounce the Doctrine of Predeſtination, and imbrace the Arminian Expoſition of the IX Chap. to the *Romans. Thoſe Reaſons of State,* ſays he, *which formerly oblig'd ſome Perſons to maintain the oppoſite Doctrine, being now ceas'd; 'twere full time to quit a Tenet from which we ſee there are Conſequences to be drawn that are allow'd to be unanſwerable. This,* adds he, *were doing the Reformation the greateſt Honor imaginable, by ſhewing, that if it was capable of entertaining an Error, 'twas as capable of forſaking it.*

I thought my ſelf oblig'd, my Lord, to relate all theſe Paſſages, to ſhew how

theſe Gentlemen juſtify'd Mr. *Bayle* by turns, ſince they all allow'd his Difficultys unanſwerable. Mr. *Jurieu* own'd this with regard to the Arminian Syſtem, and Meſſieurs *Le Clerc* and *Jaquelot* with regard to the Calviniſtical. Why then ſhou'd they unite in the odious Charge againſt him? Were they not all, and each of 'em, as culpable as he, with regard to one another?

In the Month of *November* of this Year, Mr. *Bayle* publiſh'd a 4*th* Tome of his *Anſwer to the Country Gentleman's Queſtions.* It had appear'd in the beginning of Summer, if the Bookſeller had not diſcontinu'd the Impreſſion, to finiſh ſome other Works. The principal, and much the greateſt part of this Volume, related to Mr. *Bernard*'s Cenſure on the 2*d* Tome of the *Continuation of his Reflections on Comets.* Mr. *Bayle* gave a full Confutation of this Cenſure; and where any Epiſodes preſented, he never rejected 'em, if they ſerv'd either to explain or to prove the Points in queſtion: ſo that in his manner of treating this Subject, in it ſelf abſtruſe and dry enough, the Reader was entertain'd with a mixture of agreeable Reaſonings, Authoritys,

and Hiſtorical Reflections. Nay, he advertis'd, that no one ſhou'd deſpair, becauſe 'twas an Anſwer to Mr. *Bernard*, of meeting with things entertaining in it; and that the whole was as poſitive and as free from any perſonal Differences, as if he never had Mr. *Bernard*, or any other particular Perſon in view. *Thoſe little Diſcuſſions*, ſays he, *which no way concern the Publick, but conſiſt only in Complaints of Authors, and their reproaches of one another, are ſeldom to be met with till a third or fourth Reply. A firſt Anſwer*, adds he, *is incomparably freer from this Failing; this is intirely exempt from it.* He likewiſe ſignify'd, that he had intended to give in this Volume a Confutation of Mr. *Bernard*'s Extracts of his ſecond and third Volume of the *Anſwer to the Country-Gentleman.* He added, that this Confutation had bin ready of a long time; that it turn'd upon Matters no leſs various than important; and that it was, in a word, ſuch as an Author might have ſome impatience to ſee publiſh'd: yet that he was oblig'd to poſtpone it to a fifth Volume, in conſideration of his Bookſeller, who was concern'd in Intereſt to finiſh other Works which had bin in the

the Preſs for ſome Years paſt. Beſides, he was buſy in drawing up an Anſwer to Meſſieurs *Le Clerc* and *Jaquelot*'s laſt Pieces, without the leaſt regard to the ſtate of his Health.

For above a Year paſt he had bin troubled with a Cough, and a Defluxion on his Lungs, which had already touch'd thoſe Parts, and began inſenſibly to waſt him. The Diſtemper proceeded not either from his hard Labor or Study, but was hereditary in his Family; his Mother, Grandmother, and ſome of his Uncles and Aunts having died of it. So he look'd on it as incurable, and cou'd never be prevail'd on by his Friends to take any Phyſick: He always told 'em, the beſt Remedys for this Diſtemper cou'd at moſt ſerve only to ſpin out a languiſhing Life to a little more length; which he look'd on as a Misfortune rather than an Advantage. He ſaw Death advancing upon him without terror, and even without uneaſineſs: and without either dreading or deſiring, he look'd at it with a Tranquillity truly worthy of a Philoſopher. Only Sadneſs and Melancholy, the inſeparable Companions of Diſtempers of this kind, had in a manner made him

renounce all Society, and he beg'd his Friends not to take it ill. For all this he work'd without intermiſſion. He had finiſh'd his laſt Anſwer to Meſſieurs *Le Clerc* and *Jaquelot*, in the way of Dialogue; the Partys to which were *Maximus* and *Themiſtes*. What concern'd Mr. *Le Clerc* was already printed, and the beſt part of his Reply to Mr. *Jaquelot*. He had anſwer'd all his Objections, and afterwards launch'd into ſome Reflections on certain Paſſages of this Miniſter's Book, which were to be the Concluſion of his Work. He ſat to it for ſome part of the Night, and deſign'd to reſume his Pen the next Morning, when his Landlady hapned to come into the Room. He talk'd to her as uſual, and the next moment was found dead in his Bed, without being heard to fetch the leaſt Sigh. 'Twas the 28*th* of *December* 1706. when this great Man finiſh'd his Courſe. He made his old and faithful Friend Mr. *Baſnage* his ſole Heir; a Perſon no leſs illuſtrious for his Vertue and Merit, than for the excellent Works with which he has inrich'd the Publick. I have bin inform'd he had left Mademoiſelle *Bayle* his Niece a Legacy of 1000 Florins; but

but having heard that ſhe died the *October* before, he diſpos'd of this Sum in favor of Mr. *de Bruquieres* his Couſin by the Mother's ſide, and the neareſt Relation he had. He bequeath'd all his Books of Polite Learning and Profane Hiſtory to Mr. *Paets*, Secretary to the Admiralty of *Amſterdam*, who moves with ſo much Glory in the footſteps of his Father. By this he wou'd expreſs his Gratitude for the Favors he had receiv'd from this illuſtrious Family, and particularly from Madame *Paets*, who had left him a Legacy of two thouſand Florins in 1683. Theſe, my Lord, are Particulars I have bin aſſur'd are true. Tho if they be really ſo, Mr. *Bayle* muſt have made this Diſpoſition by a Codicil or private Deed; for I am ſatisfy'd from very good hands, that Mr. *Baſnage* was left univerſal Heir by his Will made in the preſence of a Publick Notary.

You, my Lord, don't, I ſuppoſe, expect I ſhou'd here attempt to draw a Picture of Mr. *Bayle*. You knew him too well to need any further Informations on this Head. I ſhall therefore only point at ſome of the principal Lineaments in his Character, which I'm perſuaded

ſuaded your Lordſhip will readily acknowledg. He was truly a Philoſopher in his manners, free from all haughtineſs and ambition, never preferring himſelf before others; ſober to frugality, and even to inſenſibility. Indifferent to all kinds of Pleaſure except thoſe of the Mind, he ſeem'd to be above the reach of the Paſſions. The Honeſty and Uprightneſs of his Soul gain'd him the Eſteem and Affections of all who knew him. He was a faithful and obliging Friend, ſparing no pains nor trouble whenever there was an opportunity of doing Service. His Converſation was chearful, agreeable and inſtructive. His way of writing render'd him the delight of men of Wit. He was eſteem'd far and near, but particularly in *France*, where notwithſtanding the difference of Religion, his Death was ſenſibly regretted. The illuſtrious Body, which with ſo much Glory imploy themſelves in the *Journal des Savans*, have publickly expreſt their ſorrow for Mr. *Bayle*, when ſpeaking of his Death they declare, *that the Year cou'd not end with a more ſenſible loſs to the Republick of Letters.* He had made conſiderable Common-place Books in his Youth; but from the time he began

began, to write, he truſted to his Memory, or rather imploy'd the Materials as they preſented. But tho his Memory, always happy and faithful, deliver'd him *à propos* whatever he had committed to it, the minute he made the Demand; yet he always took care to verify his Citations to the greateſt nicety. He examin'd Hiſtorical Facts with an Exactneſs which border'd on Scrupuloſity, and ſeem'd to be born for retrieving the Faults which others had made, or the Errors they had too lightly ſuffer'd to paſs. Moſt Readers think themſelves ſo little intereſted in Hiſtorical Relations, that they ſeldom or never will be at the trouble of diſcuſſing 'em. They take 'em for granted, and repeat 'em upon the Credit of him who has examin'd 'em, or who vends 'em with an aſſurance. Mr. *Bayle* wou'd never be impos'd on by the Authority of the moſt celebrated Authors. He ſcan'd thoſe Facts which have bin look'd on as the moſt undoubted, and never was diſcourag'd by the Difficultys which ariſe in diſcuſſing the minuteſt Circumſtances. He had ſtock'd himſelf with the Books of all Partys, in order to the diſcovery of the Truth, by confronting

their

their Relations, ever different, and very often oppoſite. Never did any man make a greater uſe of this kind of Writings: He rais'd 'em out of the Duſt where they had lain buried for Ages paſt, and made 'em ſubſervient to the coming at the Truth of ſeveral Facts never conteſted before, and which it was but juſt they ſhou'd. Equally void of a Spirit of Intereſt and Paſſion, he always pay'd homage to the Truth, in whatever Party he met with it. He every where applauded Vertue, and gave no quarter to Vice.

His Penetration repreſented the deepeſt and moſt abſtruſe Matters to him at the firſt ſight, and by all their different Views; unfolded all their Difficultys, and diſcover'd their remoteſt Conſequences. 'Twas this rendred him ſo cautious in his Judgments. He perceiv'd things which others cou'd not ſpy; and finding no Solutions for the Objections he diſcover'd, he left the Matters undetermin'd. This Reſerve brought him under a charge of Pyrrhoniſm. But if hereby be meant, that he wou'd not allow Evidence to be the Character of Truth, 'tis the moſt ill-grounded Accuſation in nature. If it only means that

that he doubted of things which appear'd doubtful, and in a word always form'd his Judgments on the report of his Ideas; this is the greateſt Honor can be done him. This kind of Pyrrhoniſm is the perfection of the Human Underſtanding. If he affirm'd not ſo often as others, 'twas becauſe he perceiv'd the Difficultys better. Poſitiveneſs and Credulity are the Daughters of Ignorance; and we ſee Men always leſs credulous and leſs deciſive in proportion to their attainments in Knowledg. They are alſo more equitable and more modeſt. 'Tis with a deſign of inſpiring theſe Vertues, that Mr. *Bayle* takes ſo many occaſions of ſhewing the narrow Limits of our Reaſon, and the little Extent of Human Knowledg. He propos'd the ſame deſign, when he ſhews that Opinions accounted indubitable heretofore, are attended with real Difficultys; and others which have paſs'd for ridiculous, are to be ſupported by very probable Reaſons. But the nature of moſt Men is ſuch, that they don't like being undeceiv'd. They look on their Prejudices as a part of themſelves; and 'tis with grief and reluctance they ſee Opinions torn from 'em, which they have adopted

of

of old, and which they conſider as ſome of their fineſt Feathers. For this reaſon Mr. *Bayle* had done well, not to have carry'd his Talent of forming Difficultys and Doubts to ſuch a length. While he endeavors to humble the Pride of Reaſon, he does not manage the Publick enough. He has given a ſwing to his Imagination, and has often taken Libertys, which may be properly call'd Debauches of the Underſtanding.

He has proteſted more than once to his intimate Friends, that he believ'd a God, a Being infinitely Perfect; and always ſpoke of the other Myſterys of Religion juſt as the Reform'd do. His Adverſarys, 'tis true, endeavor'd to render him ſuſpected on this Head: but he let 'em ſee, that he ſaid no more at bottom, than what the Divines of his Communion conſtantally teach. This they cou'd not diſown; and therefore were driven to this poor ſhift, that there was this difference between him and them; They talk'd ſeriouſly, and he only in raillery and ridicule. But was not this ſearching into his Heart, and ſounding his Intentions? I muſt add, that whatever free Thoughts might have drop'd from him, were at firſt only

only curſorily glanc'd at, or elſe conſiſted in Speculations ſo abſtracted, that not one Reader of a hundred was capable of comprehending 'em. If he afterwards enlarg'd upon 'em, he was forc'd to it by his Enemys, who put him upon defending himſelf. Farther ſtill, they have drawn Conſequences from his Principles, which he conſtantly deny'd; and aſcrib'd pernicious Deſigns to him, which he always diſown'd. If there be any Poiſon in his Works, 'tis they have preſt it out, 'tis they have rendred it mortal. So that Mr. *Bayle*'s Reaſonings are dangerous only in their Reflections upon 'em; there all their Venom is extracted, and one muſt have recourſe to his Defences for an Antidote.

He diſputed without heat, and never aſſum'd a Magiſterial Air; nor was known to make his Adverſarys feel the Aſcendant he had over 'em. If he hapned now and then to give 'em a wipe, 'twas more in a pleaſant than in a moroſe way. His Raillerys were fine, his Reproaches moderate, and his Cenſures gentle and good-natur'd. And therefore People were the more ſurpriz'd to find him in his laſt Diſputes depart from.

from that Temper and Moderation which were ſo natural to him. But he was ſomewhat ſour'd, and piqu'd at his Enemys ſtriking rather at his Perſon than his Doctrines, and induſtriouſly endeavoring to draw the publick Indignation upon him. He believ'd they deſign'd no leſs than his Ruin, and this he thought gave him a right of repelling Force by Force. The manner in which ſome of 'em have treated him ſince his Death, too plainly ſhews that their falling ſo violently upon him was not ſo much out of Zeal for the Truth, as to gratify their Spite. They are furiouſly ſet againſt him ſtill, and take all occaſions of expoſing him; as if they deſign'd their Reſentments ſhou'd never die. But all their Invectives and affected Scorn rebound only on themſelves. Humanity is ſtartled at the cruel Treatment; and whoever has the leaſt ſpark of Honor, muſt needs be ſcandaliz'd to ſee 'em ſpurn the Dead, and give a thouſand Stabs to one who is now no more than a handful of Duſt. The implacable Reſentments of Divines have given riſe to the Proverb, *Odium Theologicum*. Yet we were willing to believe this was peculiar to ſome Divines

of

of a lower Order, ſuch as thoſe whom Mr. *Le Clerc* treats with the ſtile of *Populace* and *Canaille*. The more eminent ſeem'd to be excepted out of the Rule, and rank'd in a ſuperior Order. But what will become of this Diſtinction now, when the higher ſort invade the Birthright of the reſt, and ſtretch it even farther than they? The Jeſt of it is, that theſe very Men recommend Moderation and Charity in all their Works; and if we'l believe themſelves, are perfectly eaten up with Zeal for the Houſe of God. Yet the Chriſtian Religion never inſpir'd a Conduct like this, and 'tis diſhonoring the Heavenly Doctrine to make it a cloke to ſo ſhameful a Practice.

However, I don't pretend theſe Gentlemen were oblig'd by Mr. *Bayle*'s Death not to write againſt him at all; tho perhaps they had better have let it alone: But this is not the Point. I only mean, that in their laſt Anſwers they ought to have confin'd themſelves to a fair Diſcuſſion of his Reaſonings, and not have larded 'em with railing abuſive Language, which at beſt can only ſerve to ſhew, that they who are ſo far tranſported by their Reſent-

ments, are next door to being beſide themſelves.

Neither is the Queſtion here what Mr. *Bayle*'s Opinions were, but what ſtrange ways have bin taken to confute 'em. Inſtead of anſwering his Arguments according to the Rules of right Reaſoning, his Adverſarys run upon perſonal Demurs againſt him, which no body is at all concern'd in. If Mr. *Bayle* has had underhand Intentions and dangerous Deſigns, this is a perſonal Charge againſt himſelf, and not the Cauſe of the Publick, or of any of his Friends. They who only ſearch after Truth, will trouble themſelves very little with examining, whether theſe Imputations be juſt and well grounded: this is not their buſineſs; they'l ſtill recur to the general Queſtion, and look upon any thing elſe as wholly foreign to the Matter. Beſides, theſe Gentlemen cou'd not be ignorant that almoſt all the Catholick, and the greateſt part of the Proteſtant Divines, openly maintain the ſame Doctrines concerning Predeſtination, Free-will, *&c.* And why then ſhou'd they fall upon Mr. *Bayle* alone, and take him ſingly to task? Muſt not this have

proceeded purely from a fear of the Magiſtrate, hindring their attacking directly the *Calviniſt* Divines? They were overjoy'd at an occaſion of pelting 'em ſecurely, and by a ſide Wind, in the Perſon of Mr. *Bayle*. This he ſaw, and no doubt laugh'd in his ſleeve at the profound ſilence of theſe Divines on this occaſion. He well knew that if they enter'd into the Diſpute, they muſt adjudg him the Cauſe againſt Meſſieurs *Le Clerc* and *Jaquelot*. Your Lordſhip has ſeen that Mr. *Jurieu* condemn'd both their Syſtems; Mr. *La Placette* did the ſame, tho in a very modeſt manner. He declar'd, that theſe Gentlemen *had built upon Foundations, which to him appear'd not at all ſolid, nor generally receiv'd: ſo that 'twere to be wiſh'd ſome other Perſon wou'd enter the Liſts, and examine the* Manichean *Objections, by comparing 'em, upon Principles clearer and leſs conteſted.* As much as to ſay, he look'd on the Arminian Syſtem as erroneous, and conſequently incapable of ſolving the Difficultys propos'd by Mr. *Bayle*; which was expreſly adjudging him the Victory. But on the other hand, as Mr. *La Placette* follow'd the Calviniſtical Hypotheſis, Mr. *Le Clerc*

cou'd not forbear expreſſing his Joy at this Work's not appearing before Mr. *Bayle*'s Death; becauſe, ſays he, if he had ſeen it, he wou'd have own'd himſelf ready to ſubſcribe to it, without changing Opinion; and pretended he was as Orthodox as Mr. *La Placette*. By this Mr. *Le Clerc* wou'd inſinuate, he ſaw no difference between Mr. *Bayle*'s and Mr. *La Placette*'s Principles.

To theſe two Teſtimonys of Mr. *Bayle*'s Victory over Mr. *Le Clerc* and Mr. *Jaquelot*, I ſhall add a third, whoſe Suffrage is ſo much the freer from Suſpicion, as he does not in the leaſt ſpare Mr. *Bayle*, in a Book lately publiſh'd by him. Mr. *Naudé* is the Man I mean: He affirms Mr. *Jaquelot was worſted by Mr.* Bayle, *that he was fairly run down, and forc'd to contradict himſelf*; and proves it by diſcuſſing their Arguments at large, and confronting the Writings o' both ſides. Mr. *Naudé* judg'd as little favorably of Mr. *Le Clerc*, after he had ſeen his laſt Anſwer to the Dialogue between *Maximus* and *Themiſtes*. He ſays, he ſhou'd be glad that all equitable Perſons, and all the ableſt Philoſophers of *Europe* wou'd fairly compare this Anſwer with his own Work; and he perſuades

perſuades himſelf they muſt own, he replys at leaſt to the Objections of the *Manicheans*, and that Mr. *Le Clerc* in no wiſe does: *For in fine*, adds he, *let any ingenuous Perſon read in Mr.* Bayle's *Dialogues, where they relate to Mr.* Le Clerc, *all that is not merely perſonal, but what directly concerns the Diſpute of the* Manicheans *againſt Arminianiſm, and afterwards read over Mr.* Le Clerc's *Anſwer in the* XII*th Tome of his* Bibliotheque Choiſie; *and I am perſuaded he'l own, Mr.* Le Clerc *does not ſo much as glance at Mr.* Bayle's *Objections, but leaves all his wretched Arminianiſm in the lurch, ſunk and overwhelm'd with the weight of the ſame Objections: I ſay, the very ſame terrible Objections with which he himſelf had always pretended to cruſh the* Supralapſarians *in the firſt place, and generally all the Reform'd, as if they alone had given ground to theſe Objections, when no one is now ſo blind as not to ſee that 'tis Chriſtianity in general which opens the door to 'em. In the mean time Mr.* Le Clerc *does no more than juſt endeavor to ſave himſelf by ſhuffling and talking backwards and forwards, and even departing from the plain and expreſs Doctrine of Scripture, with-*

out giving Mr. Bayle *one ſingle categorical Anſwer, or offering a ſyllable of any force to ward off his ſtunning blows.* He afterwards ſays, that Mr. *Le Clerc* is forc'd to have recourſe to the *Glory of God* as well as the *Calviniſts*: Tho he does not follow their Method, nor can have the ſame benefit by it. " He does " it, *ſays he*, by unfairly diſſembling " that he is ſtruck and embaraſs'd with " the ſame Objections that we are; " and this with a deſign of keeping up " the Spirit of the Ignorant in his own " Party, which he and his Brethren " have all along entertain'd in Opini- " ons very wide of this Truth; but " which were very falſe at the ſame " time, as Mr. *Bayle* has at leaſt given " us the pleaſure of making thoſe per- " ceive very ſenſibly, who won't put " out their Eyes for fear they ſhou'd " ſee it. But we, *adds he*, we do it " by the Grace and Aſſiſtance of God, " while we receive theſe Objections " ſuch as they are, look 'em undaun- " tedly in the face, and overthrow 'em " at the ſame time. No doubt Mr. *Le Clerc* reſents a new and lively Joy, to think that the *Treatiſe of the Sovereign Perfection of God* was not publiſh'd till after

after his Adverſary's Death. But 'tis time to reſume Mr. *Bayle*'s Character.

He had all along preſerv'd a tender Love for his Country. Jealous to Exceſs of the Glory of his Nation, he cou'd not with any Patience hear it run down; and he even had a Contempt for thoſe who did not eſteem it as highly as himſelf. This was a Failing which all his Friends cou'd never correct in him: I call it a Failing, becauſe ſo thorow a Philoſopher as he ought to have had larger Thoughts. Nothing is more ordinary than to find thoſe in all Countrys, and even ſuch as are above the common Rank, who fancy their own the only Nation which has engroſt all human Perfections. This is pardonable in them, becauſe with all their Wit and good Senſe they ſtedfaſtly retain ſeveral vulgar Prejudices. But People have not the ſame Indulgence for a Philoſopher, who has taken a ſtrict Survey of all his Opinions, and judges of 'em without the leaſt reſpect of Perſons. Mr. *Bayle*'s affectionate way of ſpeaking ſometimes of his Country, had given his Enemys a handle for accuſing him of being a Spy, and a Penſioner to the Court of *France*: a Conſequence ſo

abſurd, and ſo grievous a Calumny, that I'm at a loſs to conceive how one of his lateſt Antagoniſts cou'd in this point ſtrike in with Mr. *Jurieu*: *Furor arma miniſtrat*. But all who knew Mr. *Bayle* did him Juſtice, and I dare take the liberty of reckoning your Lordſhip in this number.

Your Lordſhip deſir'd to know who were Mr. *Bayle*'s Friends and Correſpondents in the ſeveral parts of *Europe*. Thoſe I can at preſent call to mind, beſides ſuch as I have already nam'd, were the Duke of *Noailles* in *France*, who honors the *Belles Lettres* by his Love for Learned Men, and by his Application to Study: The *Abbé Bignon*, no leſs diſtinguiſh'd by his great Parts, than by that generous Protection he affords the Arts and Sciences; *P. Malebranche*; the two *P's Lami*; Meſſieurs *Pinſon*, *Rainſan*, *de la Monnoye*, *Marais*, *Longepierre*; Mr. *Bayle* Profeſſor in Philoſophy at *Tholouſe*, who was no way related to him tho of the ſame Name, *&c.* In *Germany*, Mr. *L'Enfant*, Miniſter of the *French* Church of *Berlin*, and Chaplain to the King of *Pruſſia*; the Illuſtrious Mr. *Leibnitz*; Meſſieurs *Ancillon*, *Thomaſius*, *Buddeus*, &c. In *Italy*, Mr. *Magliabecchi*, Library Keeper

Keeper to the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*. At *Geneva*, Mr. *Pictet*, Miniſter, and Profeſſor in Divinity; Mr. *Chouet*, Syndic of the Republick, *&c.* Your Lordſhip knows, he had the honor of being eſteem'd by ſeveral Perſons of Quality in *England*; but I don't think he held a Correſpondence with any of the Learned of that Kingdom. His Correſpondents on that ſide the Water were *French*, as Mr. *La Riviere*, Miniſter of the *French* Church at the *Savoy*; Mr. *Le Vaſſor*; Mr. *La Roque Boyer*, Miniſter at *Windſor*; Meſſieurs *Pujolas*, *Silveſtre*, *Des Maizeaux*, *Coſte*, &c.

As I endeavor to avoid Flattery as much as poſſible, and pay homage only to Truth, I ſhan't go about to diſſemble the hardeſt Article againſt Mr. *Bayle*, to wit, That he had taken too great a liberty in ſome parts of his *Dictionary*, and talk'd ſomewhat too ſmuttily upon the Affairs of Women. 'Tis certain, what he ſays upon this Subject conſiſts for the moſt part of Citations from grave Authors, who had never bin the leſs eſteem'd for having written a little too licentiouſly. 'Tis true too, that *Montagne* and ſeveral others had taken infinitely a greater liberty. But all this

this does not acquit him with Perſons who ſet up for rigid and refin'd Vertue; beſides, it ſhocks the Civility and Politeneſs of our Age. Mr. *Bayle* did not conſider, that he wrote in a Language the chaſteſt in the World; and that if the Authors he read had wrote at the ſame time he did, and in the ſame Language, they muſt have wrap'd up in cleaner Expreſſions, or the World had not born 'em. The truth is, the groſs Obſcenitys he met with in their Writings made him conſider, as very innocent Libertys, and Sallys of Wit, what the World accounts much otherwiſe in this Age. We are told, that our own Times are a great deal more corrupted than thoſe of our Fathers; and yet we find they expreſs'd themſelves with leſs Reſerve and Precaution than we. This muſt have proceeded from the Heart's being leſs corrupt in them: looſe, and even ſmutty Expreſſions, made but little Impreſſion; their Imagination was not defil'd, nor their Vertue endanger'd by 'em. Now this was preciſely Mr. *Bayle*'s Caſe. He did not find himſelf ſhock'd by the looſe Expreſſions he us'd; he even believ'd 'em innocent, becauſe they produc'd no Diſorder in himſelf.

himſelf. In effect, his Life has bin always ſo regular, that his bittereſt Enemys cou'd never reproach him with any thing on this head. His Manners fell not ſhort of thoſe of the beſt of Chriſtians; and among ſuch as addict themſelves to Philoſophy, very few are to be found who live ſo perfectly like Philoſophers as he. All the Vertues which render a Man truly valuable, were to be met with in him; his Integrity, his Innocence, his Humility, his Temperance, his Equity, his Contempt of the World, his Diſintereſtedneſs, were perfectly exemplary. 'Twas by this part of him, as I have already obſerv'd, he had the good Fortune of pleaſing your Lordſhip, and meriting your Protection. And this was the principal reaſon which mov'd you to deſire an Account of his Life. I ſhall think my ſelf infinitely happy, my Lord, if this proves not altogether unworthy your Notice; and if you will be pleas'd to look upon it as ſome ſmall Mark of my Gratitude, and of that profound Reſpect with which I am,

My Lord,

Dec. 1. 1707.

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient,

humble Servant.

BOOKS written by Mr. BAYLE.

MIſcellaneous Reflections on occaſion of the Comet which appear'd in December, 1680. *Written to a Doctor of the* Sorbon, *in* 12mo. *The firſt Edition appear'd in* 1682, *the ſecond in* 1683, *the third in* 1699, *and the fourth in* 1704.

A general Criticiſm on the Hiſtory of Calviniſm of P. Maimbourg, 2 *vol. in* 12mo. *The firſt and ſecond Edition appear'd in* 1682, *and the third in* 1684.

New Letters of the Author of the Critique Generale *on the Hiſtory of Calviniſm, by* P. Maimbourg. 2 *vol.* 1685.

The Hiſtory of the Republick of Letters, in 12mo. *from* March 1684. *to* March 1687. *incluſive.*

An Anſwer of the Author of the Hiſtory of the Republick of Letters to the Advice given him upon his having ſpoke in favor of P. Malebranche *about the Pleaſures of Senſe,* &c. 12mo. 1686.

France *intirely Catholick under the Reign of* Lewis *the Great, in* 12mo. 1686.

A Philoſophical Commentary on theſe Words of JESUS CHRIST, Compel 'em to come in,

in, *&c.* 4 *vol. in* 12mo. *The first and second printed in* 1686, *the third in* 1687, *the fourth in* 1688.

The Chimerical Cabal, or a Confutation of the fabulous Account and Calumnys which Mr. Jurieu *has maliciously publish'd concerning a certain Project of Peace, and concerning a Libel intitul'd,* Important Advice to the Refugees, on their approaching Return into *France, in his Considerations on this Libel. In* 12mo, *two Editions in* 1691.

A Letter concerning the little Books publish'd against the Chimerical Cabal, in 12mo. *half a Sheet,* 1691.

The Chimericalness of the Cabal of Roterdam *demonstrated from the pretended Convictions which Mr.* Jurieu *has publish'd against Mr.* Bayle, *in* 12mo. 1691.

Janua Cœlorum reserata cunctis Religionibus à celebri admodum viro Domino Petro Jurieu, &c. *in* 4to. 1692.

The Project and Essay towards a Critical Dictionary, in 8vo. 1692.

New Advice to the little Author of the little Books, in 12mo. 1692.

An Addition to the Miscellaneous Reflections on Comets, *or an Answer to a Libel intitul'd,* A short Review, *&c. in* 12mo. 1694.

A Historical and Critical Dictionary. The first Edition in Folio, 2 *vol.* 1696; *the second enlarg'd to near half the Bulk, in* 3 *vol.* 1702.

A Letter concerning what pass'd in the Consistory of the Walloon *Church of* Roterdam,

on

on occaſion of the Critical Dictionary, in 12mo. *half a Sheet,* 1697.

Reflections on a Pamphlet intitul'd, The Judgment of the Publick, and particularly of the *Abbé Renaudot, upon the Critical Dictionary,* &c. *two Sheets in* 4to. 1697.

A Continuation of the Miſcellaneous Reflections on Comets, or an Anſwer to the Difficultys, &c. 2 *vol.* 1704.

An Anſwer to the Queſtions of a Country-Gentleman, 5 *vol. in* 12mo. *The firſt appear'd in* 1704, *the ſecond and third in* 1705. *the fourth* 1706, *and the fifth* 1707.

An Anſwer for Mr. Bayle *to Mr.* Le Clerc, *upon occaſion of the* 3*d and* 13*th Articles of the* 9*th Tome of his* Bibliotheque Choiſie, *in* 12mo. 1706. 'Tis a ſort of Appendix to the 4th Tome of the *Anſwer to the Queſtions of a Country-Gentleman.*

Dialogues between Maximus *and* Themiſtes, *being an Anſwer to Meſſieurs* Le Clerc *and* Jaquelot, *in* 12mo. 1707. 2 *vol.*

Other Works of Mr. *Bayle* inſerted in the Writings of ſeveral Authors.

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